

# CURRENT *History*

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NOVEMBER, 1969

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# CURRENT History

NOVEMBER, 1969

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*In this issue seven authors examine the facets of black experience in America from colonial days to the present. This first article sets into perspective the role of Negroes before the Civil War.*

## Black Men Before the Civil War

BY PRINCE E. WILSON

*Professor of History, Atlanta University*

SEARCHERS FOR TRUTH in black history have increased in recent years. A certain practicality now forces upon Americans the need to understand more accurately than before the origins and development of black Americans. Most early textbooks and monographs did not provide even rudimentary answers to the questions which recent events in black America have forced into the nation's conscience and consciousness. Traditional concepts of docile and happy blacks explained in terms of sub-human, child-like, dependent, white-imitating Negroes are not adequate for these times and have never been historically definitive, adequate or accurate. The preponderant majority of historians and anthropologists in the not distant past stand successfully accused for the great gaps in their reporting and the inadequacies of their conclusions.

For highly questionable and arbitrary reasons, many scholars have divided North Africa (by which is often implied non-black or non-Negro Africa) from sub-Saharan Africa (a term of subtle indignity—there

being no "sub-Alpine" or "sub-Danubian" or sub-any-other-kind of history). The anthropological discoveries of Dr. and Mrs. L. S. B. Leakey, which currently place the origin of the oldest known human being in East Africa, together with known east-west and north-south migrations, suggest a limited value for a Saharan dividing line in African history.<sup>1</sup> Jews from Asia Minor in pre-Christian days and Roman legions in their times left anthropological remains south of the Sahara and in western Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Difficulties encountered in separating the history of blacks and non-blacks in Africa led some researchers tortuously to propose a specious division along linguistic lines. Invoking Biblical innuendo, some concluded that black people spoke only the Hamitic language. When it was later clear that this concept was not factually defensible, others created the euphonic but inaccurate idea of a "True Negro." The "True Negro" resided in a small area of West Africa and was depicted as a sub-human, inferior type of animal, markedly inferior to white men. The intellectual poverty of this idea becomes exposed when it is observed that no one ever conceived of a "True Caucasian" or a "True Mongolian." The term later proved to be inadequate for the purpose when the "True

<sup>1</sup> P. D. Curtin, *African History* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964), pp. 19-20, 26-28.

<sup>2</sup> Charles H. Wesley, "Neglected History: Essays in Negro American History by a College President" (Wilberforce, Ohio: Central State College Press, 1965), pp. 151 and 154.

Negro" of West Africa was revealed to have developed unusually high levels of culture and civilization. Unsupported claims were then made that these West African cultures were created by white men.

Despite efforts to prove the contrary, the African background of the black American (and apparently also the white American) began in East Africa and subsequently in Egypt. Most treatments of the complex culture and inventive genius of early Egypt ignore or deny a role for the Negro. Apparently oblivious of the written and graphic evidence showing the presence of black men and women at all levels of society in ancient Egypt, most textbooks give the impression that Negroes did not help to create and develop this ancient culture. The concept of a black Egyptian pharaoh is absent from most general works, in spite of the known exploits of the great black Egyptian empire builder Piankhi and some of his predecessors and successors such as Ra Nahesi, Shabaka, Shabataka and Taharka. The University of Chicago's famous Negro historian, John Hope Franklin, wrote that

Nefertari, the wife of Ahmose I, Egypt's great imperial leader, has been described as a Negro woman of "great beauty, strong personality, and remarkable administrative ability."<sup>3</sup>

Recognizing the insuperable problem of satisfactorily defining the term "Negro" or "black," it can be demonstrated that people who are today called Negro or black ruled Egypt, helped to build its great temples, pyramids and sphinxes, and labored in its market places and on its farms. Black men from Ethiopia rescued the country from Hyksos invaders who had occupied the area for 200 years between the eighteenth and sixteenth centuries, B.C.

West Africa was the location of the so-called "True Negro" mentioned above. This

was "darkest Africa" and the indigenes were given sub-human attributes by most modern European and American whites. Winthrop Jordan has recently published results of his research showing that sixteenth century Englishmen told stories of alleged mixing of apes and blacks.<sup>4</sup> This was part of the falsified fabric out of which was created the idea of a "bestial nature" for these "sub-humans." Public school texts have continued to record the glories of the Goths and Visigoths, the Franks and Teutons, Charlemagne, William the Conqueror, and Alfred the Great. Almost none (until recently) have referred to the great empire builders and rulers in Ghana and Songhay and Mali, or in the city states of Bonny, Warri, Calabar, and in the Cameroons.

In these West African states, as in the contemporary, medieval European states, complex and successful political, economic and social organizations were developed. State forms from the simple family to great territorial confederations and empires were ruled by blacks in West Africa for at least a thousand years. In size, the largest and greatest of these empires was Songhai, which extended from the Atlantic Ocean almost to Lake Chad (an area as wide as that from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains in the United States). The ruler of that area was Askia El-Hajj, who was invested by the Muslims with the title "Caliph of the Sudan" in the sixteenth century. Under his administration, banking and credit were improved, a uniform system of weights and measures was enforced, and traders from Europe and Asia came to his cities to buy and sell in his markets. Timbuktu, Gao, Walata and Jenne became great urban and intellectual centers to which scholars came from Asia and Europe for consultation and study. A distinctive Sudanese literature emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The great University of Sankore was the scene of successful eye surgery at a time when many of Europe's physicians were bleeding their patients as a method of treatment.<sup>5</sup> Other examples of significant achievement in politics, trade, agriculture,

<sup>3</sup> John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred Knopf and Co., 1967), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Winthrop Jordan, *Black Over White* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Greenberg, "The Negro Kingdoms of the Sudan," *The Making of Black America*. Eds., A. Meier and E. Rudwick (New York: Atheneum Press, 1969), Vol. I, pp. 3-13.



industry, mining and other fields are extant.

An important observation to make about sixteenth and seventeenth century Africa is that the high level of civilization which developed there was a major reason for the value Europeans placed on the African labor force. Like their twentieth century successors, post-Columbian capitalists understood that a valuable labor force must be familiar with the techniques and technology of an economy, must have abandoned the nomadic life, must have a tolerance of concentrated periods of work, and must have a certain physical stamina and resistance to common diseases. West Africans possessed all of these qualifications to a highly satisfying degree—otherwise they probably would have been left in Africa. Their agricultural development was similar to that of Europe. They were often accustomed to the life of the city and the small town. They had schools and eagerly sought education. They knew cattle ranching and gold mining. Their social classes tended to motivate work aspirations for upward mobility. In short, it was their high level of culture that made them desirable, not their savagery or docility as is so often indicated. Professor William R. Bascom, for example, wrote that

It is now recognized that the differences in the general pattern of the cultures of Africa and Europe were not great, in fact their fundamental similarity justifies the concept of an *Old World Area* [italics mine] which includes both Europe and Africa. There were a number of institutions common to both regions. . . .<sup>6</sup>

A slave trade based on use of a truly uncivilized labor force would almost certainly have died aborning in that competitive age.

## BLACKENING THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

Spanish and Portuguese rulers and con-

quistadors knew Africans long before Christopher Columbus made his maiden voyage to the New World. Trade, war and adventure drove men to travel south of the Mediterranean Sea and into Africa before Prince Henry added a capitalist-mercantilist dimension to European statecraft. Such contacts, together with the forces of Roman law, religion, military need and a small migrating population, led Spain to develop a semi-open society in the New World for black Africans—even for those who were slaves.<sup>7</sup> Compared to English practices, the way to freedom for Spanish slaves was easier, their rights to marriage and property were superior to their black brothers in North America and their dignity and rights were more protected. On the other hand, it was under the Spanish slave owner's motivation that millions were torn from African homes, brought to Spanish America and made to mine the gold, plant and harvest the crops, ride the cattle ranges, fight Indians, and explore new land frontiers.

Black explorers are not mentioned in the standard United States atlases and texts in 1969, although there were several such adventurers of note. Almost 100 years "before the Mayflower," Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, with a small group of Spaniards and Negroes, explored our eastern coast and attempted to found a colony in 1526 at the spot now called Jamestown, Virginia.<sup>8</sup>

Under Ayllon's Puerto Rican successor,

the Negroes were so grievously oppressed that they arose in insurrection against their oppressors and fired their houses. The settlement was broken up and the Negroes and their Spanish companions returned to Hayti, whence they had come. This ended the first introduction and the first insurrection of Negroes on our eastern shores.<sup>9</sup>

Spanish state papers in the British Museum show that Negroes in the "Age of Discovery and Exploration" were considered to be "the strength and sinew of the Western world."<sup>10</sup>

Three hundred Negroes accompanied Hernando Cortez in Mexico (one of whom planted the first wheat crop in America); blacks accompanied Vasco Balboa when he

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Random House, 1967).

<sup>8</sup> See Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower* (Chicago: Johnson, 1962).

<sup>9</sup> Richard R. Wright, "Negro Companions of the Spanish Explorers," *American Anthropologist* (1902), Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 218ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

looked out upon the Pacific Ocean; and some 200 Africans accompanied the Spaniards into Peru.

Until recently, no textbook described the heroic exploits of the black discoverer, Estevanico. There is no known celebration in Texas today that commemorates the fact that Estevan was one of a group of five who discovered and landed upon the soil of Texas in 1527. He and his colleagues lived among the Indians there for eight years and all finally became "medicine men" of distinction among the natives. "Little Stephen" later was the first to look upon the Zuni Indians as he successfully sought the famed Seven Cities of Cibola. Few Americans associate him with the discovery of what is now called Arizona and New Mexico. Only scholars seem to know about him, although a black intellectual, Richard R. Wright, told his story more than 60 years ago.<sup>11</sup> The city of Chicago in 1968 began to make amends for ignoring the fact that it was black Jean Pointe Baptiste Du Sable (who came to the New World with the French) who discovered and founded that great city.

The unsung exploits of black explorers and discoverers parallel the unceremonialized labor of black men, women and children whose toil created the great wealth carried in Spanish galleons to Spanish ports. Revisionism demands that the story be told accurately and more completely to include Africans and their American descendants in their proper roles as explorers and discoverers, arduous workers and military defenders of the Crown's possessions.

Sixteenth century Englishmen knew about the European trade in African labor, al-

though their personal contacts with Africans were limited. How, then, did race prejudice and slavery develop in North America? In 1619, when a Dutch man-of-war brought 20 Negroes bearing Spanish names to the English colonies, institutionalized racism did not exist and there were no statutory provisions for slavery. Yet before the colonial period was a half century old, both racism and slavery were molded, viable and legalized. Several scholars have sought to determine whether slavery created racism or vice versa.<sup>12</sup> A conclusion currently bruited is that they developed together.

### PREJUDICE AND SLAVERY

There are several suggestions regarding the sixteenth century origins of race prejudice, although additional research is needed. According to Winthrop Jordan, the literature of the period frequently depicted black men and apes as similar sub-human types a scale or two below white men. The word "white" was first used around 1680 to describe Caucasian Americans, while Negroes were referred to as "blacks" or "Africans."<sup>13</sup> The labelling of human beings as *black* or *white* supported the separatism of the races. One hundred years later Americans were reported to have "an irrational contempt of the blacks, as creatures of *another species*." [Italics mine.]<sup>14</sup> Historian Milton Cantor found in his study of colonial literature that "the earliest settlers viewed him [the Negro] as different and [therefore?] inferior."<sup>15</sup> English colonists thus interjected into the culture the idea that physical appearance has a causal connection with human worth. This heritage doomed blacks and others to tragically inferior roles.

In addition to the prejudice-creating literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it has been suggested that psychological fears were at a high peak when Europe and Africa met. Neo-Freudians, for example, have pointed to the great concern which Martin Luther showed for the "Black Mass" in its association of the anus, fecal matter and the color black. Men of the Christian persuasion painted hell as an area of black-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Oscar and Mary Handlin, "The Origins of the Southern Labor System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, VII (April, 1950). Carl Degler, "Slavery and the Genesis of the American Race Prejudice," *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, Vol. II (October, 1959). Winthrop Jordan, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>14</sup> Melvin Drimmer, *Black History: A Reappraisal* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1968), p. 76.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

ness. Blackness was associated in ever increasing degree with evil. Only in the 1960's was this trend partly reversed with the efforts to assert that "black is beautiful."

Supportive of racial prejudice was the mercantilist brand of European capitalism in early modern times. Inherent in the mercantilist-capitalist philosophy was the idea that power and superiority rested with those who possessed the symbols of wealth—gold and silver. Logically, those possessing lesser amounts—or none—of these symbols ranked lower or not at all on the scale of human values. The humanizing aspects of the Renaissance were almost powerless in the face of the materialism of the age.

Success for these factors which produced prejudice tended to doom not only the black, but the poor, the homely, the ragged, the unclean and the odorous to low levels of value on the human scale. Highest value was given to symbols—to the antiseptic, the regular-featured, the well dressed, the wealthy, the deodorized and the white. The black revolution and the youth revolt of the 1960's are hostile to these values developed 450 years ago.

More easily documented than race prejudice was institutionalized slavery in English America. Learning from both the Spanish experience in slavery and their own practice of indentured servitude, the British colonists began almost immediately to reduce imported Africans to permanent, inheritable servitude. Although many Negroes gained their freedom after the period of their indenture, unusual limitations on the rights of black men became increasingly common. The goal apparently was to provide as quickly as possible an able, tractable, large and permanent labor supply. The opening of the English New World was not left to human whim. Within a half century Negroes were *sui generis* considered as slaves.

The building of this labor supply robbed Africa of millions of its talented and vigorous youth. Energetic and mentally able blacks worked unheralded and unrewarded, but mightily, in the fields, factories, shops, homes and on the ships and cattle ranches of colonial

and early national America. Rice and sugar "barons" were created from this toil. Cotton "kings" and tobacco magnates amassed capital on the basis of this exploited labor. The famous Yankee "clipper" filled its bottoms with valuable and value-creating African workers. Great businesses (called joint-stock and regulated companies) were often built on the profits of slavery. Unlike the Irish, and Germans, and Scotch, and countless white workers of other nations, the black worker gained no recognition for his efforts. Only very recently, for example, did America even know about the role of the Negro cowboy who rode all the great cattle trails in the West. Almost none know of black "Forty-Niners" who joined the gold rush to California.

The efforts of the "revisionists" in the history of slavery and prejudice are growing. There is need for continuing research and for an enormous breakthrough in the use of the data now being supplied by less biased scholars.

#### LIMITED FREEDOM

Before our Civil War, black Americans who were not slaves were only partially free in the eyes of the law and of the average white citizen. Their status was only slightly better than that of their slave brothers or sisters. They enjoyed greater although limited freedom of movement within and between cities and states. Although paying taxes, they were frequently denied both direct and indirect benefits. Legal marriage was recognized; they could testify on a limited basis in courts; and they bought and sold property. But unless they could prove their status as free men, they were often taken into slavery.

Among the most outstanding of these "free" black men was Benjamin Banneker—writer of almanacs, inventor of a clock, mathematician, astronomer and surveyor who joined a Frenchman to plan the city of Washington, D.C. Faced with the evidence of Banneker's intellectual prowess, Thomas Jefferson vacillated, but he finally rejected this proof of black men's mental ability.

John Russwurm and Samuel B. Cornish were the first black men to publish a newspaper in America (1827). In 1853, William Wells Brown published the first novel written by a Negro. Poet Phyllis Wheatley (1753–1784) was celebrated in America and England.

Black Americans sought formal education throughout the colonial and national periods. The first school for Negroes was established in Goose Creek Parish, South Carolina, in 1695 by the white minister Samuel Thomas. The Quakers and Puritans of New England probably contributed more than any other white groups to the early education of blacks. Blacks in the North and South set up their own schools. Southern legislators and police forces, however, almost totally eliminated the teaching of reading and writing to Negroes after the famed revolt of Nat Turner in 1830. So effective was that action that not more than three per cent of the Southern Negroes could read when the Civil War came.

Yet the effort for education continued. Black men and women who could read sometimes held secret classes even in Southern cities. Some Negroes went to Europe for an education. Bowdoin College awarded the first college degree to a black American in 1826. Patrick Francis Healy was the first of his race to earn a Ph.D. degree. He took the degree at Louvain in Belgium in 1865 and became President of Georgetown University in the nation's capital in 1874. Two colleges were established by and for black men in the 1850's—Ashmun Institute (later Lincoln University) and Wilberforce University.<sup>16</sup>

Although the toil of his slave brothers was unrewarded, the semifree Negro worked fruitfully—for himself and sometimes to buy his loved one out of slavery. It is estimated that Southern black men owned \$2,400,000 in 1836,<sup>17</sup> while by 1860, Negroes in the city

of New Orleans alone owned an estimated \$15,000,000 in assets.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps one of the most celebrated of the early black capitalists was Alexander Leidesdorff, who based his fortune on shipping goods between New York and San Francisco. Noted as one of the wealthiest men in old San Francisco, he built the first hotel there and was a member of its first city council and organizer of one of its first horse races. Less well known is John Melvin, who was born of slave parents in Virginia, moved to Cleveland, Ohio, and acquired wealth from the carrying trade on Lake Erie. He organized the First Baptist Church and the first school for black children in that city. Black men of financial substance were, of course, relatively few, but they were more numerous than was commonly believed.<sup>19</sup>

American race prejudice damaged but did not destroy black social stability. Churches, lodges, self-help organizations and black conventions were created for purposes of mutual support. Eighteenth century white prejudice drove Philadelphia blacks to leave the white Methodist church and set up what came to be one of America's largest Negro churches—the African Methodist Episcopal Church. White racial hostility led blacks to set up their own lodge at the end of the same century—the Prince Hall Masons. A major result of race prejudice in North America and the Caribbean was the creation of black matriarchal families because black males were almost never allowed to assert continuing masculinity and the children were left with the mother when families were forcibly separated.

Intermittently denied the privilege of serving in the nation's armed forces during the period before the Civil War, Negroes never ceased demanding the right nor rendering the

(Continued on page 305)

<sup>16</sup> See Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1919).

<sup>17</sup> Jim Newton (ed.), *Negro Contributions in America* (Hamilton, Ohio: Fort Hamilton Press, 1964), p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (See Chapter XV).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

**Prince E. Wilson** was dean and history department chairman at Morris Brown College and taught at Central State University before joining Atlanta University. He is serving as the Executive Secretary of the Atlanta University Center Corporation.



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*In this article, the author points to the resemblance between Reconstruction times and the present. Now, as then, blacks feel the need to rely on their own group initiatives to improve their condition.*

# Political Strategies of the Reconstruction

BY RONALD WALTERS

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IT IS SOMETIMES forgotten that we can learn about the past by paying close attention to the present. Some of the issues of the Reconstruction are particularly relevant for our times; in particular they may shed light on political strategies within the black community. The Bayard Rustin school of "coalition politics" perpetuates the myth that coalition is a relevant strategy, despite the fact that history is still waiting for it to pay off in the kind of community power which is the necessary prerequisite to any meaningful progress. A study of the Reconstruction period will help to clarify our current problem by revealing the opportunities for interracial cooperation in that era, the elements which would have been necessary to bring about that cooperation and, after it failed, the imperatives facing the black community.

Most studies of the Reconstruction period begin with a discussion of the aims of the Radical Republicans and their program. Little attention has been given to the fact that there was a community of blacks who formulated the issues adopted by the Radical politicians and that throughout the period they fought harder for change—considering their resources—than did the Congressional managers of the Reconstruction legislation.

Leon Litwack in *The Anti-Slavery Van-*

*guard*<sup>1</sup> says that before the Civil War there was a split in the ranks of the abolitionists. What the movement had been witnessing, especially since 1830, was the growth of a band of militant blacks like David Walker, Martin Delaney and Henry Highland Garnett who directly challenged the right of white abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison to speak for them. In this movement, the role of Frederick Douglass, a former slave, was central because he was the leading speaker for the abolitionists and a member of the Garrisonians. The controversy between Douglass and Garrison which finally resulted in the split between the two men was part of the same mood of independence. Douglass aligned himself with other black militants in pressing for the abolition of slavery and suggested that the back of the Southern "rebellion" could be broken by ending slavery in that area.

Once this objective had been attained, Douglass was faced with the question of how freedom for blacks could be maintained and protected. In his autobiography he shows his conception of the instruments necessary to protect American rights.

I insisted that . . . to guard, protect and maintain his liberty the freed-man should have the ballot—that the liberties of the American people were dependent upon the ballot-box, the jury-box and the cartridge-box—that without these no class of people could live and flourish in this country. . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed., Martin Duberman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

<sup>2</sup> *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Collier, 1962), p. 378.

In this same account, Douglass notes that some abolitionists, like Garrison, did not believe at first that blacks were entitled to full enfranchisement immediately after emancipation; others, like Wendell Phillips, were in favor of it. In any case, Douglass believed that a momentum must be created around this issue. The first opportunity presented itself on February 7, 1866, when President Andrew Johnson granted an interview to Douglass and several other leaders from the black community at which Douglass and George T. Downing made a case for full enfranchisement. Afterward, the President delivered a lengthy prepared statement critical of the Negro franchise which was picked up by the press. Sensing the unfair advantage in the wide dissemination given the President's statement, Douglass prepared a rebuttal statement to blunt the force of Johnson's arguments. After the House of Representatives passed a measure proposing that the issue of suffrage be left up to the individual states, Douglass and his associates petitioned the Senate not to adopt it, and lobbied to persuade key Republican politicians to oppose it.

The National Equal Rights League was formed at a meeting of the National Convention of Colored Men in Syracuse, New York, in October, 1864, and adopted Negro suffrage as an issue deserving broad support. The first meeting of the League, in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1865, called for a frontal assault on all prohibitions of freedmen's rights by suggesting the adoption of the following proposed constitutional amendment.

That there shall be no legislation within the limits of the U.S. or territories, against any civilized portion of the inhabitants native-born or naturalized, on account of race or color, and that all such legislation now existing within said limits is anti-Republican in character, and therefore void.<sup>3</sup>

Under the administration of Ulysses Grant, the issue of suffrage for blacks resulted in the

passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution by both Houses of Congress. By the time this Amendment was proposed and passed, black public opinion had already clearly enunciated the issues as well as a strategy. Some of these issues were embodied in the Reconstruction Act of 1867.

In 1872, a delegation of prominent black Washingtonians carrying a petition with over 2,000 names favoring a Civil Rights Bill and a delegation of prominent blacks from Arkansas and Virginia called upon the President to request his serious attention to the pending bill. The account of this meeting, published on January 18, 1872, in the *New National Era*, a black newspaper edited by Douglass in Washington, D.C., included the petition, which mentioned the insecure position of blacks with respect to the enjoyment of the "usual accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges furnished by common carriers by land and water . . ." and asked correction of the "degradation" and "discrimination" which resulted.

In 1873, under the leadership of George T. Downing, a Civil Rights Convention was held, sponsored by the National Convention of Colored Men, and thereafter a Memorial was sent to the Congress which contained an eloquent and forceful plea for civil rights legislation invoking salient passages of the Constitution in its support.

These actions were bolstered by a number of petitions from state Conventions of Colored Men from Illinois, Tennessee, Mississippi, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia and Washington, D.C. All the petitions pointed to acts of injustice and asked for federal relief for the blacks as freedmen and citizens. They also exhibited deep concern with the tendency of the Reconstruction government to hasten the pace of reinvesting the former rebel Southern whites with full citizenship at the expense of the rights of blacks. They saw the acquisition of rights as the ultimate security of their new status and as a possible protection against the already advanced attempts of whites to enslave them anew.

Blacks also supported the Civil Rights Bill

<sup>3</sup> Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York: Citadel, 1966), Vol. 2, p. 55.

of 1875. Those who advocated equal suffrage made a natural connection between the vote and equal rights in all fields of citizenship including taxation, public accommodations and education.<sup>4</sup>

The so-called Radical Republicans, therefore, were well aware of the issues most urgent to the black community. The Radicals were responsible, through their congressional involvement, for the Reconstruction Acts, the Freedmen's Bureau and the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875; to that extent they were responsible more for the methodology of Reconstruction than for its substance. In fact, their radicalism lay in their attempts extensively to restructure the political and social life of the South. However, to realize the aims of the black community, it was necessary that the white South give some genuine consent to the plans; more important, it was absolutely necessary to have in the South the stable, effective presence of the federal power.

#### THE ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTION

The passage of the Radical Republican program made it possible for blacks to try two practical strategies to attain their goal of equality. The first was harmonious political interaction with the white community; the second was harmonious economic interaction with white Southern labor.

When the state conventions started to meet after the war to elect officers and restructure the political processes, open suffrage made it possible for blacks to participate in the political life of the South for the first time in large numbers. There were examples of such early participation in South Carolina, where the largest percentage of blacks voted and where the largest number participated in the state legislature. In this state, there arose a remarkable class of black leaders.

Certainly few men in the South of that

day had been educated abroad as was South Carolina Secretary of State Francis Cardozo (University of Glasgow and in London) or United States Congressman Robert B. Elliot (Eton College, London) and the number of black lawyers in public office was high considering the level of available opportunities (consider, for example, Samuel Lee, Richard Gleaves and Robert Elliot). Other professional men were largely self-taught and self-trained in oratorical skills, but were very effective representatives for blacks.

In Mississippi, there was a similar group of black leaders. It was said by the black Speaker of the House in Mississippi, John R. Lynch, that "of 72 counties, not more than 12 ever had colored sheriffs . . . and that in point of intelligence, capacity and honesty, the colored sheriffs would have favorably compared with the white."<sup>5</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois says that on the whole the Negro leadership class was generally good and in spite of the charges of corruption leveled against them the Negroes were not so corrupt as either the native pre-Reconstruction governments or as the Halls of Tammany in New York; generally they tried to make the best of situations of inherited difficulty.

In Louisiana, the pattern was much the same as blacks fought their way into positions of leadership in the state by the overwhelming effect of their numbers on the state convention and at the ballot box.

Du Bois notes that between 1868 and 1896 "32 colored state Senators and 95 representatives served."<sup>6</sup> Lerone Bennett, Jr., calls Mississippi Lieutenant Governor P. B. S. Pinchback the "most practical politician black America has ever produced,"<sup>7</sup> and extolls the extent of his power over political life in Louisiana and the way he and his black compatriots sought to pull Louisiana out of the mire of post-Civil War chaos.

In spite of the power and influence held by black Republicans in the Southern governments, Du Bois, John Hope Franklin, Rayford Logan and others debunked the myth that blacks held absolute power in any Southern state. There was usually political cooperation between the black leaders and the non-

<sup>4</sup> James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 1967), Ch. 18.

<sup>5</sup> W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (Chicago: Meridian, 1964), p. 447.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>7</sup> *Black Power U.S.A.*, (New York, Penguin, 1967), p. 261.

Southern whites (the so-called carpetbaggers), although there were some Southern businessmen and politicians still represented and sharing power in every legislature in the South between 1868 and 1880. DuBois, nevertheless, relates a comment by a member of the Mississippi Legislature on the position of "colored men."

In my opinion if they had all been native southern Negroes, there would have been little cause of complaint. They often wanted to vote with Democrats on non-political questions, but could not resist the party lash. The majority of whites in both parties exhibit the same weakness.<sup>8</sup>

DuBois interprets this statement to mean that the basis of whatever alliance the Negroes had with the planters was economics and that politically the Negroes were caught between the revengeful Southern Democratic whites and the jealous, suspicious Northern Republicans. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the legislation that emerged in the South during this period, it is clear that there was enough cooperation between the races at the state level, given the right conditions, to have produced a viable strategy, even though blacks did not play a fundamental role in running the governments.

### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The economic issue for black people was as important as the political issue and had just as deep roots of concern. In 1837, a review of the economic situation of black people by the *Colored American* revealed that not one of the prominent abolitionists had any black man in a prominent position in his business. Douglass directed a stinging inquiry into the subject when he said, "What boss anti-slavery mechanic will take a black boy into his wheelright's shop, his blacksmith's shop, his joiner's shop, his cabinet shop?" It was no accident that economics was a key consideration in the Freedmen's Bureau Bill of 1865. The Radicals sought to break up the power of the landed Southern aristocracy and thereby further weaken it

politically, but they were also mindful, because of the succinctness with which the issue was put to them by blacks, that the redistribution of wealth should be of central importance.

William Still of Philadelphia noted in a speech on March 10, 1874, that the Civil Rights Bill had opened the way "for new issues" (of an economic nature) to be considered, and continued, "Landless and without capital, even [with] the Civil Rights Bill secured by the Congress of the nation, the condition of the colored man would still be pitiable, unless he is wise." But the concern with the economic situation of blacks goes back at least to the eighteenth century and the numerous petitions which were sent to colonial legislatures by blacks for relief of unfair taxation. DuBois said that all along there had been a "connection in the Negroes' mind between politics and labor."<sup>9</sup> In 1865, the National Equal Rights League met in Philadelphia and stressed business education for members' sons and urged Negroes to secure real estate. This theme was alive throughout the Reconstruction; in 1869 a Negro Convention was held in Louisville, Kentucky, which recommended the purchase of land by newly freed slaves.

In the South, whites resisted the drive by the Freedmen's Bureau to make small farmers out of thousands of blacks. They were willing to see (initially) the emphasis placed on black labor, not on black ownership. This temporary willingness resulted in an opportunity for blacks to try the second strategy of accommodation between black and white laboring classes in the South.

In 1869, a clear emphasis on labor developed as National Conventions of Colored Men held in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., resulted in the formation of the Negro National Labor Movement, presided over by indefatigable Frederick Douglass. At a meeting in January, 1870, the organization stated:

We would have the "poor white man" of the south, born to a heritage of poverty and degradation like his black compeer in social life, feel that labor in our organization seeks the elevation of all its sons and daughters; pledges its *united*

<sup>8</sup> Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.



strength not to advance the special interests of a special class; but would promote the welfare and happiness of all who "earn their bread in the sweat of their brow."<sup>10</sup>

### THE POPULIST MOVEMENT

Such an overture was timely, for the coming Populist movement, with its emphasis on the common plight of agrarian labor regardless of color, would make it possible for blacks and whites to consider merging what had developed into two distinct labor movements. In spite of the failure of the Reconstruction land policy, the Civil War had done much to equalize the economic status of black and white small farmers. The Populist movement, therefore, logically seemed to blacks and to whites the proper vehicle for pleading their common cause. Whites like Tom Watson were sent South to campaign openly for black support for the cause.

The possibility that a union of economic interests between poor blacks and whites might result in political dominance at the polls alarmed the Southern planter class.<sup>11</sup> In order to avert the impending crisis, the planters revived the specter of black "domination" of the Populist movement; this had the predictable effect of seeing the white South "close ranks" and thus close out black participation. Benjamin Quarles notes that the Southern black man become more of a scapegoat than ever as "lower class" whites attempted to divorce themselves not only from the attempt at political and economic cooperation with blacks but even from the implied *social* relations with blacks which might have been a natural consequence.<sup>12</sup>

### THE FEDERAL ROLE

Both strategies of accommodation were doomed to failure without the element of legitimate force which has always institutionalized norms not easily accepted by a minority in American society.

Originally, the power of the federal government was the main force behind the implementation of provisions of the Freedmen's

Bill. Military authority was made responsible for the enforcement of the provisions which installed the "New Order." The execution of such a policy was fraught with difficulties given the vulnerability of federal government soldiers. They openly engaged in the political life of the territories under their jurisdiction and some soldiers adopted local attitudes toward the blacks. With each act of deviation from the soldiers' basic mission, the cause of the New Order was weakened, and because from the beginning federal authority was the most powerful sanction the Freedmen's Bill provided, the failure of federal enforcement was the most serious defect in Reconstruction Plan operations.

The perceptive Douglass was aware of this possibility from the first. He argued that undue use of the federal power in enforcement of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill could make this nation and its government despotic (which he did not wish), and that the surest way to protect the rights of the freedman was to protect his basic right to vote. Somewhere in the general failure of federal power, in the political dynamics between sectional groups of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans in the Hayes Bargain of 1876, the precious right of the black man's suffrage was yielded up. Furthermore, it is doubtful that at the time Douglass was analyzing this problem, he had conceived of the possibility of the election of an Andrew Johnson as President or of the rapid dissipation of the power of the Radicals in Congress. In assessing the importance of these factors, which most scholars of the period either ignore or take for granted, one should consider that John Armour Bingham (Representative, Ohio), sponsor of the Fifteenth Amendment, was not reelected in 1872; Thaddeus Stevens (Representative, Pa.), author of the Reconstruction Acts, died before 1876; William Pitt Fessenden (Representative, Maine), liberal member of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, died in 1869; Lyman Trumbull (Senator, Ill.), backer of the Fourteenth Amendment, left Congress in 1872; and Charles Sumner (Senator, Mass.), author of innumerable efforts on behalf of the black man, died before

<sup>10</sup> Aptheker, *op. cit.*, p. 632.

<sup>11</sup> Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Making of America* (New York: Collier, 1964), p. 146.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

the Civil Rights Bill of 1875 (which he spearheaded) was passed. Looking over the cast of characters in the Reconstruction drama who had left the stage, it is easy to see why the legislation which they constructed was negatively affected by their absence.

Finally, a word must be said about the way the white Southerner viewed the attempt to reconstruct his world vis-à-vis his former slave. It is possible that no amount of federal power could have permanently arrested the determination of the white South to regain ascendancy over the black man. Regardless of the superlative performance of those blacks who did participate in the political life of the South, the white South still could find little to commend in their accomplishments. This attitude is exemplified by the comments of Governor Benjamin F. Perry of South Carolina in 1867:

the fact is patent to all . . . that the Negro is utterly unfitted to exercise the highest function of a citizen. . . . We protest against this subversion of the social order, whereby an ignorant and depraved race is placed in power and influence above the virtuous, the educated, and the refined.

He added that the "white people of S.C. would never acquiesce in Negro equality or supremacy."<sup>13</sup> This attitude of the white South, portrayed in the words of men like Governor Perry and in the actions of Southerners who were in secret revolt against the New Order before the ink was dry on the Emancipation Proclamation, meant that, at the least, the necessity for the application of federal power became many times more relevant to the security of the black community.

### EVALUATING THE OPTIONS

The lesson which this cursory examination of the Reconstruction suggests is that if coalition is not to result in one-way exploitation each of the parties involved needs to be strong enough to avoid intellectual or physical subjugation. During the Reconstruction, the

black man depended upon the strength of a stable federal presence and, to a lesser degree, upon the willingness of the white South to cooperate in the New Order. Both of these failed him miserably and, because the black was disorganized by slavery and then by emancipation, he was easily susceptible to the loss of power.

The modern version of coalition politics which has been espoused by some civil rights leaders was based on alliances between blacks and, as Stokeley Carmichael puts it, "various liberal pressure organizations in the white community — liberal reform clubs, labor unions, church groups, progressive civic groups and a large segment of the Democratic party."<sup>14</sup> Carmichael goes on to say that the group coalition which was supposed to influence national legislation and national social patterns failed because the specific self-interest of such allies came into conflict with appeals to their decency and sense of conscience. Furthermore, he states that the major limitation of the coalition strategy was that it tended to "maintain the traditional dependence" of the black community on the good will of a community whose interests are often inimical to blacks. Such cooptation, the continuance of the master-servant relationship, will be aided if (as he says) "we do not learn from history, we are doomed to repeat it, and that is precisely the lesson of the Reconstruction."

We are living in a time curiously parallel to the Reconstruction, when again the power of the federal government needs to be marshaled on behalf of the black community to complete the job of human reconstruction. Howard Zinn travels through cities like Albany, Georgia; Selma, Alabama; Greenwood, Hattiesburg, and Yazoo City, Mississippi.  
(Continued on page 301)

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<sup>13</sup> Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

<sup>14</sup> Pamphlet, *Toward Black Liberation*, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 1967.

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*"Disfranchised, segregated and lynched as the century began, the black man started a long climb upward in 1901. . . . Two major elements in this climb were: 1) a shift of the black population from its concentration in the rural South; and 2) a resumption of the full-fledged fight for equal rights temporarily abandoned in the modus vivendi of the Atlanta Compromise."*

# The Negro in America: 1901 to 1956

BY EDGAR A. TOPPIN

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IN JANUARY, 1901, the only remaining black Congressman, George H. White, gave his parting speech on the floor of the House. His term would end in March, 1901, and he had not tried to secure reelection. His state, North Carolina, had adopted a constitutional amendment in 1900 that would disfranchise almost all the black voters in the state as of 1902. The racial climate was so ugly in North Carolina by 1900 that he recognized the futility of trying to buck the tide of white supremacy by seeking a third consecutive term.

Elected in 1896 and reelected in 1898, White was the last of the Southern Negro Congressmen. Twenty-two blacks (two Senators and 20 Representatives) were sent to Congress by Southern states during and after Reconstruction. These 22 United States Congressmen, Republicans all, served from 1896 to 1901.

An era of black participation in the democratic process was drawing to a close. For more than a quarter of a century, most Southern states had continued to operate under Negro-suffrage constitutions. These constitutions were put into effect between 1868 and 1870 by the 10 former Confederate States

(Tennessee excepted) that were subjected to the Military Reconstruction Acts passed in 1867 and 1868. In 1877, the last of the federal troops sent in in 1867 to enforce these acts were withdrawn by President Rutherford B. Hayes. That year, the last of the Carpet-bag regimes—those in Florida and Louisiana—collapsed.

Although Reconstruction thus "ended" in 1877, Afro-Americans continued voting and continued sending men to Congress until George White stepped down in 1901. In his farewell address, White predicted that his people would rise again:

This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the Negroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress; but let me say, Phoenix-like he will rise up some day and come again. These parting words are in behalf of an outraged, heart-broken, bruised and bleeding, but God-fearing people, faithful, industrious, loyal, rising people—full of potential force.<sup>1</sup>

White's departure from Congress in 1901 was symbolic of the declining status of black Americans in the two decades from 1890 to 1910 as disfranchisement, segregation and lynching combined to denigrate the Afro-American. Historian Rayford Logan labels the period at the turn of the century the nadir.<sup>2</sup>

This low point was most apparent in 1901 in the loss of the black American's right to vote. The Fifteenth Amendment to the

<sup>1</sup> Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1965), pp. 98–101.

<sup>2</sup> Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in the United States: A Brief History* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1957), p. 55.

Constitution, ratified in 1870, had specified that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Nonetheless, the Southern states took away the black man's vote by such devices as the poll tax and discriminatorily applied literacy tests. In order to protect whites who might lose their right to vote under these devices, some states passed grandfather clauses, providing that

No male person who was on January 1st, 1867, or . . . prior thereto, entitled to vote . . . and no son or grandson of any such person . . . shall be denied the right to register and vote . . . by reason of his failure to possess the educational or property qualifications.

Since blacks were not voting in January, 1867 (the first Military Reconstruction Act providing for their voting was not passed until March, 1867), only whites could be protected by this grandfather clause.

Blacks were disfranchised through constitutional revision by Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, North Carolina in 1900, Alabama in 1901, Virginia in 1902, Georgia in 1908, and Oklahoma in 1910. Other Southern states achieved the same end between 1901 and 1910 by modifying their election laws. The impact of disfranchisement was seen clearly in Louisiana, where 130,344 Negroes were registered voters in 1896, but only 5,320 were registered in 1900, a decline of 96 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

### DISFRANCHISEMENT

The Republican administrations of Presidents William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft were in office from 1897 to 1913 while this disfranchisement was taking place. The Republican party's crusading, emancipating days were over. Republicans, who tended to be allied with big business interests, found it increasingly awkward to be bedfellows of Afro-Americans, who were

basically a lower-class, laboring people. The desire for national unity and the restoration of good will between North and South, and the concomitant profits to be derived from wholehearted North-South trade and from Northern investments in Southern enterprises all suggested that the black man should be sacrificed. No longer need he be a bone of contention between North and South. The South knew what was best for blacks and could be trusted to assign them to their "proper" sphere. What that sphere would be was indicated by Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, who saw no difference between a Negro college president and a bootblack when it came to a question of first-class citizenship:

I am just as much opposed to Booker Washington as a voter, with all his Anglo-Saxon reinforcements, as I am to the cocoanut-headed, chocolate-covered, typical little coon, Andy Dotson, who blacks my shoes every morning. Neither is fit to perform the supreme function of citizenship.<sup>4</sup>

The failure of Republican administrations to continue to champion the black man's right to vote was echoed by a Republican-dominated Supreme Court that permitted segregation. Laws that "Jim Crowed" the Afro-American had to evade the clear injunction of the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868: "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Yet, in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537) 1896, the Supreme Court assented to state laws requiring separate but equal facilities in public accommodations. After that decision, a flood of "Jim Crow" laws set Afro-Americans apart from other persons in an insulting, humiliating manner.

Under the "separate but equal" doctrine, facilities were always separate but seldom equal. In 1900, Negroes formed 31.6 per cent of the school-age population in the Southern states but received only 12.8 per cent of the school funds. When blacks lost their vote, disparities increased. Negro leader William Edward Burghardt Du Bois noted

<sup>3</sup> Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class, and Party: A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965), pp. 79-97.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.



in 1911 that "the result and apparently one of the objects of disfranchisement has been to cut down the Negro school fund. . . ." This was graphically illustrated in Georgia. In 1905, the annual salary in Georgia for white and black teachers was \$214.25 and \$124.20, respectively; in 1911, three years after Georgia disfranchised blacks, the respective figures were \$318.63 and \$119.35.<sup>5</sup> Afro-Americans were expected to compete on equal terms, despite such inequalities in education.

The most brutal method of keeping the black man "in his place" was by lynching. Statistics that were kept on lynching from 1882 on showed that 67 blacks a year were lynched in the 1880's, 116 yearly in the 1890's, 68 a year from 1900 to 1919, and 28 a year in the 1920's. Southerners justified lynchings as punishment for and prevention of rape. Yet of the 1,390 blacks and 165 whites lynched between 1901 and 1921, only 391 were rapists or attempted rapists. The others were lynched for varied reasons, some trivial. Three persons died at the hands of different lynch mobs in 1915 merely for insulting white people.<sup>6</sup>

Disfranchised, segregated and lynched as the century began, the black man started a long climb upward in 1901, as Congressman George White predicted he would. Two major elements in this climb were: (1) a shift of the black population from its concentration in the rural South; and (2) a resumption of the full-fledged fight for equal rights.

From 1790 to 1890, at least 90 per cent of black Americans had lived in the South: 91.1 per cent were there in the first census (1790); 92.2 per cent were there in the last census

under slavery (1860), and 90.3 per cent were there in the eleventh census (1890). In the census of 1900, for the first time in American history, less than 90 per cent of American blacks were concentrated in the South. In that year the Southern percentage dipped to 89.7 per cent. From that time on, there was a steady migration of Afro-Americans from the South, with great upsurges during the two world wars. By 1960, the percentage of the black population living in the South had declined to 55 per cent. Negroes were not only moving northward, but were also moving toward cities in the South and in the North. In 1890, 80.2 per cent of blacks lived in rural areas, and only 19.8 per cent were city dwellers. The urban element increased steadily thereafter. In 1900, 22.7 per cent of all blacks lived in cities. At that time, 32.9 per cent of the total population dwelt in cities; hence, as the century began, whites were much more urban than blacks. This was to change, however. By 1910, the percentage of blacks living in cities had increased to 27 per cent. In the 1960's, the black population was even more concentrated in cities than the white; more than 70 per cent of blacks were city-dwellers.

By opting to abandon the rural South for Northern cities, Afro-Americans greatly altered their condition in America. They moved to areas where they could vote and participate meaningfully in the political processes. They increased their influence by holding the balance of power between Northern Democrats and Republicans. Concomitantly, they were escaping the powerless and perilous plight they faced as disfranchised people in the one-party Solid South that prevailed from 1901 to the 1950's. They found much greater opportunity for change and advance in the flexible, progressive, cosmopolitan atmosphere of cities of the North than in the rural areas of the South which tended to be conservative, rigid and slow to adapt to new ways and outlooks. The exciting and stimulating urban atmosphere with its concentration of black masses in ghettos provided support for, and encouragement of, the talented black writers, artists and musicians who congre-

<sup>5</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, ed., *The Negro Common School* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press Publication No. 6, 1901), p. 87; Du Bois and Augustus Dill, eds., *The Common School and the Negro American* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press Publication No. 16, 1911), pp. 7, 137; Dorothy Orr, *A History of Education in Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 317.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur F. Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), pp. 40, 480-482; Tuskegee Institute Department of Records and Research, *Lynchings by State and Race, 1882-1959* (Tuskegee, Ala.: Institute Press, 1959), pp. 2, 4.

gated in artistic-intellectual colonies within the ghettos. Free from the stifling, confining, restrictive atmosphere of the rural South, blacks were able to work out new solutions to the problems they faced in a racist-minded nation.

### THE ATLANTA COMPROMISE

Accordingly, the militant leadership in the struggle against the accommodationist Atlanta Compromise came from Northern Negro intellectuals. A Southern black, Booker T. Washington, had suggested the compromise on September 18, 1895, with his historic speech at the Atlanta Exposition. Washington had founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1881. Serving as its president for 34 years, he made it the most richly endowed (\$2,000,000 in 1915) black college in the nation by securing the good will and financial support of Southern whites and Northern philanthropists. He emphasized getting along with Southern whites, an outlook dictated by his residence in the hard-core, rural, Deep South and by his attempt to build an institution that would lift rural Southern blacks from the abysmal poverty, backwardness and ignorance in which he found them.

For 20 years, from the Atlanta Compromise of 1895 until his death in 1915, whites regarded Washington as the sole spokesman for black America. In his Atlanta speech, he said that blacks had erred by rushing into politics during Reconstruction. He urged his people to remain in the rural South, to make friends with Southern whites, to acquire skills in farming and crafts, and to make themselves indispensable. He sent the whites into paroxysms of cheering when he proposed a basis for settling the race problem: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Further-

more, he insisted, "agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly. . . . The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."<sup>7</sup>

Washington hoped to ease the tensions that led to 162 lynchings in 1892 and 134 in 1894 (all-time records) by withdrawing his race from politics. Since disfranchisement was under way, he hoped to salvage economic opportunity from the wreckage of political hopes. He hoped that the Negro would become so useful economically ("No race that has anything to contribute . . . is long . . . ostracized") that his rights would be restored. He believed that "such political rights will not come . . . through outside or artificial forcing, but will be accorded to the Negro by the Southern white people"; the process would "be a matter of natural, slow growth."<sup>8</sup> Whites, however, ignored his long-range goals of future, full equality and instead read his speech to mean that Afro-Americans would permanently remain second-class citizens, a voteless, segregated caste that would serve as the menial laboring force for white Americans and nevermore trouble the nation's peace or conscience.

In rejecting Washington's Atlanta Compromise, the black intellectuals returned to the militant stance of Frederick Douglass. He had been the leader of his race for half a century, from the late 1840's to the mid-1890's. Douglass escaped from slavery in 1838 and lived in Northern cities thereafter. A leading abolitionist, he spoke with the moral fervor of the reformer. He demanded for his people complete equality—political, social and economic. He said blacks needed the ballot box, jury box and cartridge box to exert power, secure justice and defend themselves against aggressors. Douglass believed that "If there is no struggle there is no progress—power concedes nothing without a demand." There was no more hope of progress without agitation than of "crops without plowing." His advice to young blacks was to agitate, agitate, agitate.<sup>9</sup> But Douglass died in February, 1895, seven months before Washington emerged as the

<sup>7</sup> Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (New York: Dell, 1965), pp. 155–158.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 165–166.

<sup>9</sup> Philip S. Foner, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1964), pp. 222, 273, 371, 374–375; Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), pp. 378–379.

new leader and spokesman for the blacks.

The black intellectuals who opposed Washington operated, like Douglass, from the relative safety of the North, far from the murderous hostility of the rural, Deep South where Washington worked. However, the black militants had to reckon with Washington's powerful Tuskegee machine. Washington dominated black America by his control of federal patronage (Presidents Roosevelt and Taft cleared appointments of blacks with him), by his influence over philanthropic funds (he sat on many boards and the others consulted him before making grants to blacks), and by his control of Negro newspapers and magazines (through subsidies and covert ownership).

Despite the hazards of defying Washington, opposition developed. In 1901, William Monroe Trotter, the first black chosen to Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard, founded the Boston *Guardian*. His newspaper led the opposition to the Atlanta Compromise. In an editorial of December 20, 1902, Trotter asked,

what man is a worse enemy to a race than a leader who looks with equanimity on the disfranchisement of his race in a country where other races have universal suffrage by constitutions that make one rule for his race and another for the dominant race. . . .<sup>10</sup>

Trotter launched the attack on the Atlanta Compromise, but the leadership of the opposition passed to William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, who came out in opposition to Washington in 1903. Du Bois, in 1895, was the first black to receive the Ph.D. degree from Harvard. Like many blacks, he at first went along with Washington's Atlanta Compromise, waiting to see how it would turn out. Becoming increasingly disturbed at the results, he asked in his book, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903):

<sup>10</sup> Francis L. Broderick and August Meier, eds., *Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), pp. 25-27.

<sup>11</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1903), pp. 49-50.

<sup>12</sup> Broderick and Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Logan, *Betrayal of the Negro*, p. 342.

Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meagre chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No.

He therefore made three demands: 1. The right to vote. 2. Civic equality. 3. The education of youth according to ability.<sup>11</sup> Du Bois denounced Washington for stressing industrial training and obsolete craft skills while belittling intellectual pursuits. Du Bois insisted that

The Negro race . . . is going to be saved by its exceptional men . . . the Talented Tenth; . . . developing the Best of the race that they may guide the Mass.<sup>12</sup>

### THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT

In 1905, Du Bois and Trotter formed the Niagara Movement, the beginning of organized opposition to the Tuskegee machine. This movement lasted only five years and attracted only several hundred members, but it enabled militant black intellectuals to speak in a united voice. At Harpers Ferry in 1906, the delegates asserted:

We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America.<sup>13</sup>

The small band of militant blacks in the Niagara Movement needed help to overcome the stifling domination of Booker T. Washington. Disturbed by the murderous attacks of white mobs on defenseless blacks in a riot in 1908 in Abraham Lincoln's hometown, Springfield, Illinois, concerned liberals, white and black (including Du Bois), issued a call for action on February 12, 1909, the centennial of Lincoln's birth. They pointed out that "If Mr. Lincoln could revisit this country in the flesh, he would be disheartened and discouraged" to see blacks segregated, disfranchised and brutally assaulted.

Meetings held in response to this call resulted in the formation in 1910 of the Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Except for Du Bois, all the officers at the outset were white. Trotter and some other militant blacks, suspicious of whites, refused to join. Foremost among the aims of the NAACP was the integrationist goal: "To promote equality of rights and eradicate caste or race prejudice among the citizens of the United States. . . ." The organization also sought to assist blacks in "securing justice in the courts, education for their children, employment according to their ability, and complete equality before the law."<sup>14</sup> The NAACP tactics stressed publicity, protest and court suits, and the NAACP was considered a radical, militant group. Booker T. Washington, who cooperated with the Urban League formed in 1911 to help Afro-Americans adjust to city life, fought against the NAACP. He died in November, 1915, however, six months after the NAACP won its first victory, the Supreme Court ruling that grandfather clauses were unconstitutional (*Guinn v. U.S.*, 238 U.S. 347) 1915.

During World War I, blacks laid aside their grievances and fought to save democracy. A great migration to war jobs in the North began in 1915. But disillusion soon set in. President Woodrow Wilson's Democratic administration brought to power Southerners who introduced segregation practices into federal facilities and employment. Democracy vanished with bloody race riots in such cities as East St. Louis in 1917 and Chicago in 1919 over the friction of competition for jobs and recreational facilities. In 1919 alone, 70 blacks were lynched, including 10 soldiers in uniform; 11 of the victims were burned alive. Many blacks lost their jobs as whites returned from service and preferential hiring was resumed.

Nonetheless, the urban stimulus caused a Harlem renaissance in the 1920's, with the flowering of such diverse black talents as the

poet Claude McKay, the painter Aaron Douglas, the actor Paul Robeson, the jazz musician Louis Armstrong, and the Broadway star of "Blackbirds" and other revues, Flo Mills. These talented Afro-Americans were proud of their African heritage and the black folk culture. They shared the militancy expressed by McKay in his poem, "If We Must Die," in his book, *Harlem Shadows* (1922):

If we must die, O let us nobly die—  
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly  
pack,  
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back.

Meanwhile, the black urban masses turned in despair to Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican, whose Universal Negro Improvement Association, founded in 1914, was brought to America in 1916 and flourished in the post-war era. Garvey opposed integration, saying:

I believe in racial purity. . . . I am proud I am a Negro. . . . We are not seeking social equality. . . . We do not seek intermarriage. . . . We want the right to have a country of our own, and there foster and re-establish a culture and civilization exclusively ours.

He preached pride in the African past, saying "Black men, you were once great; you shall be great again."<sup>15</sup> Attracted by his appeal to race pride, about a million blacks, mostly lower class, flocked to him, but the middle-class-oriented NAACP had only several hundred thousand enrolled in his organization. When Garvey was convicted, jailed and deported (in 1927) on mail fraud charges in connection with his Black Star Steamship Line, his movement collapsed. But the mood he inspired remained, giving rise to the Black

(Continued on page 307)

<sup>14</sup> Langston Hughes, *Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP* (New York: Berkley Medalion Book, 1962), pp. 20-23.

<sup>15</sup> Edmund David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955), pp. 176, 191-192.

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“... the *Brown* decision . . . affected the development of legal rules in all areas of race relations . . . and started a chain reaction . . . affecting . . . the action of Congress and the Executive as well as that of the states and local governments.”

# The 1950's: Racial Equality and the Law

BY NORMAN C. AMAKER

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THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION Cases decided by the United States Supreme Court a decade and a half ago<sup>1</sup> marked a watershed in the development of United States law on race relations, a development which in the American context has principally meant the treatment of blacks before the law and the concomitant attitude of whites (as well as blacks and other Americans) of what that treatment should be. The decision, of course, affected the principal subject with which it dealt—what the Constitution required of the former slave states in affording equal educational opportunities to black children descended from their slave ancestors.

The Court unanimously held that those states which had maintained by law a dual system of public education—one for the whites, the other for the blacks—were now obliged to operate only one school system for

all children. The legal duty to integrate the schools arose, said the Court, because as a matter of law separate educational systems were inherently unequal.

But the *Brown* decision was of far greater significance than the mere pronouncement in a group of cases<sup>2</sup> of a legal rule albeit of constitutional dimension relating to the public schools. It affected the development of legal rules in all areas of race relations—indeed, its impact is still felt in these areas as well as in the continuing effort to implement its specific prescriptions.<sup>3</sup> It started a chain reaction in society equivalent to that of nuclear fission, affecting not only subsequent decisions of the courts, but eventually the action of Congress and the Executive as well as that of the states and local governments. Attitudes of other Americans toward the Negro and of Negroes toward themselves began to undergo change. And in its repudiation of the “separate-but-equal” doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*,<sup>4</sup> a case decided by the Supreme Court in 1896, it represented a sharp break with the American past, a past in which society’s assumption of the racial inferiority of black people was written into law.

## THE LAW’S CONTRIBUTION TO RACIAL INEQUALITY

In historical perspective, the law contributed as much as anything else to the attitude of American society toward the Negro.

<sup>1</sup> *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). For excerpts, see p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> The other cases decided with *Brown* (which arose from Kansas) were: *Briggs v. Elliott* (S.C.); *Davis v. School Board of Prince Edward County* (Va.) and *Gebhart v. Belton* (Del). Public school segregation in the District of Columbia was outlawed simultaneously. *Bolling v. Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497 (1954).

<sup>3</sup> The controversy over school desegregation guidelines fashioned as a result of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is a ready example. An equally obvious reaction to the decision is the current school decentralization process occurring in our large cities.

<sup>4</sup> 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

The incorporation of notions of black inferiority—and hence of racial inequality—began very early in our history as a nation with the deletion of Thomas Jefferson's anti-slavery section from the proposed Declaration of Independence. This was followed by the approval by the Constitutional Convention of three clauses protecting the institution of slavery.<sup>5</sup> More laws followed, e.g., the Fugitive Slave Law and the Black Codes.

Then, too, the courts of the land, theoretically the ultimate repositories of equal justice under law, contributed to the rule-making process which made notions of the black man's inferiority a part of the national character. In 1857, the United States Supreme Court, in the *Dred Scott* case,<sup>6</sup> held that Negroes were not citizens of the country, that the framers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution never intended black men to share in the fruits of the new democracy, and that it had been clear

for more than a century before these documents were written that blacks were regarded as beings of an inferior order; . . . altogether unfit to associate with the white race . . . so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.

After the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment had presumably administered the *coup de grace* to the *Dred Scott* decision and the reformist zeal of the Reconstruction Congresses had attempted to reverse the long-standing national process of weaving attitudes of racial inferiority into the fabric of law by the enactment of a succession of civil rights laws, the Supreme Court in the last three decades of the century revived the process by a series of rulings on the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the first of these, in 1873, the Court held that the clause of the first section of the amendment forbidding any

state to make or enforce a law abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States did not mean that the states were required to make any efforts to protect the fundamental rights and liberties of their citizens which, of course, included the newly freed slaves.<sup>7</sup> A decade later, the Court held that the amendment proscribed only racially discriminatory action by the states, not by individuals.<sup>8</sup> And, in 1896, the *Plessy* case with its ruling that the states could separate whites from blacks on public conveyances embodied the separate-but-equal doctrine which firmly embedded the notion of a racial caste system into law.

Thus, before the *Brown* case was decided, for well over a century the nation's lawmakers had contrived a set of legal rules which erected a superstructure of racial inequalities of formidable proportions. Whether social attitudes create law or whether law creates social attitudes is a debate without real substance. Unmistakably, the truth is that each contributes to the other. It was clear, however, at the time of *Brown* and before, that so long as the face of the law remained set against equality of treatment for the Negro, so long as the legal structure of injustice remained, there was no hope of making the necessary changes in attitude essential to the eventual eradication of the racial caste system.

The school cases, then, were the first step of major significance in eradicating the legal underpinnings of the caste system and in changing (however slowly) the notions of generations of Americans about the innate inferiority of black people. In this regard, *Brown* is unquestionably the most important legal decision of this century. It did not, however, spring forth full grown like Athena from the head of Zeus; its antecedents are discernible, its gestation period of fairly long duration. Perspective on *Brown's* impact on the law and the nation is gained by an understanding of what led up to the decision.

## THE ANTECEDENTS OF BROWN

*Plessy* was the apotheosis of the incorporation into law of the idea of Negro racial in-

<sup>5</sup> The so-called "three-fifths" clause of Article I, Section 2 for apportioning representatives to the House; the provision of Article I, Section 9 allowing the slave trade until 1808; Article IV, Section 2 providing for the return of fugitive slaves.

<sup>6</sup> *Scott v. Sanford*, 19 How. (60 U.S.) 393 (1857).

<sup>7</sup> *The Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. (83 U.S.) 36 (1873).

<sup>8</sup> *The Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

feriority. The judgment, as a matter of constitutional doctrine, that black people should be separated from white people was a cruel, positive, razor-sharp statement, however denied,<sup>9</sup> of the society's deeply held conviction of the Negro's inferiority. That the case involved intrastate transportation was purely incidental. No one, black or white, was misled: the nation's highest court, the ultimate interpreter of the law, had plainly said that blacks and whites must be separated because blacks were not fit to associate with whites. Clearly, more than private social relations (which the Court took pains to point out were not affected by the amendment) were involved: separation meant no participation for Negroes except as subservients in all the community's affairs; no voice in government, no voice in how society was to be arranged, no voice in where one lived or how one's children were educated, no voice in where one worked or under what conditions, no voice in how one was dealt with at the hands of the law. In short, no power, no manhood.

Obviously, in the twentieth century, a major effort was required to bring about a change in the posture of the law. The effort began with the courts. They were ultimately responsible for saying not only what the law was but what it should be. By the turn of the century, black people had no effective voice in the nation's legislatures or its executive branches. Only by persuading the courts

to alter their rulings, to change their interpretations of law, was it possible to set in motion the process, culminating in *Brown*, by which the features of the law's stone face so firmly set against black people began to crumble.

The cases leading up to *Brown* were brought by lawyers acting at the behest of the NAACP,<sup>10</sup> which was formed in 1909. The first cases were responses to situations as they arose, not the result of the planned systematic effort that occurred in the 1930's and 1940's when first the NAACP and later the NAACP Legal Defense Fund<sup>11</sup> took to the United States Supreme Court the graduate school cases that were the direct precursors of *Brown*. Each of these early cases, however, as seen now in the afterglow of legal history, contributed—to continue the metaphor—to the chipping away of the features of the stone face of the law.

The first case concerned the right to vote. In a 1915 decision,<sup>12</sup> the Supreme Court outlawed the so-called "grandfather clause" of Oklahoma's constitution which established a literacy test for prospective voters but exempted persons whose forebears were eligible to vote prior to January 1, 1866. This, of course, effectively disfranchised black voters. Two years later, the Court held a residential segregation ordinance of Louisville, Kentucky, unconstitutional.<sup>13</sup> The first important case—resulting from a famous race riot in eastern Arkansas in 1919—guaranteeing some semblance of due process in the courts to black people was decided by the Supreme Court in 1923<sup>14</sup> and the first of the so-called Texas "white primary" cases<sup>15</sup> was decided in 1927. In this case the Court ruled that a Texas statute making blacks ineligible to participate in a Democratic primary election violated the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution which had been passed after the Civil War to guarantee the Negroes' right to vote.

But the major cases resulting in the *Brown* decision were the cases begun in the 1930's seeking the admission of Negroes to all-white college and graduate school facilities. As described in the 1934 Annual Report of the NAACP, "the major emphasis [was] placed

<sup>9</sup> "We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act [La. statute providing for separate railway coach facilities] but solely because the colored race chooses [sic] to put that construction upon it" (163 U.S. at 551).

<sup>10</sup> This very familiar abbreviation is for National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

<sup>11</sup> The Legal Defense Fund was formed in 1939 as a separate corporation to carry on as its exclusive function the work begun by the legal committee of the NAACP. The two organizations are often confused because the Fund (LDF) took as part of its corporate title the abbreviation of the Association's corporate name. However, despite the obvious fatherhood, the two organizations function as entirely separate entities.

<sup>12</sup> *Guinn v. United States*, 238 U.S. 347.

<sup>13</sup> *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60.

<sup>14</sup> *Moore v. Dempsey*, 261 U.S. 86.

<sup>15</sup> *Nixon v. Herndon*, 273 U.S. 536.

upon education inequalities" and the undertaking was a campaign "carefully planned . . . to secure decisions, rulings and public opinion on the broad principle instead of being devoted to merely miscellaneous cases." The first decision involved a black man, Lloyd Gaines, who sought admission to the University of Missouri Law School. He was denied admission because of his race and was offered a scholarship to a law school outside the state. In its 1938 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that Gaines was not required to leave the state to attend law school when there was an existing facility in Missouri, and ordered his admission.<sup>16</sup>

A decade later, the second graduate school case reached the high Court. A black woman, Ada Sipuel, sought admission to the law school of the University of Oklahoma. Oklahoma, following the usual pattern, offered her aid to attend law school outside the state; if she refused, the state argued, it was not obliged to establish a separate law school for her. The Supreme Court held that Oklahoma was required to provide a legal education for the plaintiff "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group," thus requiring her admission.<sup>17</sup> The separate-but-equal canard remained intact but the principles of these cases (1) that blacks need not leave their home state to get an education and (2) that they need not wait for a black school facility to be established had diminished its force.

The final two graduate school cases went to the threshold of *Brown*. They came respectively from Texas and again from Oklahoma and were decided by the Court on the same day in 1950.<sup>18</sup> *Sweatt*, as did *Gaines* and *Sipuel*, involved the admission of a Negro to law school. The decisions in the earlier cases had made it clear that Negroes could no longer be barred from entrance simply because there was not a Negro law school in the state. But the University of

Texas, rather than admit the plaintiff to its law school, first established makeshift facilities for the plaintiff, then undertook to build a law school for blacks. These efforts failed. In the *McLaurin* case, the plaintiff had actually been admitted to the University of Oklahoma but, once admitted, had been segregated in the instruction he received.

When the cases reached the Supreme Court, the Court was urged to overrule the separate but equal doctrine. However, it declined, ruling in *Sweatt* that "substantial equality" could only be gained through admittance to the University of Texas Law School, and in *McLaurin*, that the test of substantial equality was not met through internal segregation within the school. But certainly it was clear from these decisions that at least on the level of graduate and professional education, separation did not provide the equality required by the Constitution. It remained to adapt this principle to the public elementary and secondary schools in the School Segregation Cases which were the predictable outcome of the development of the law in the graduate school cases.

Thus, at the time of *Brown*, the seeds for reversing the incorporation into law of the idea of the black man's inferiority had been sown for several decades by an evolving series of judicial decisions. It had been a long, tortuous road back from the nadir of *Plessy*. Social developments had undoubtedly played a role—the revulsion in many parts of the country against lynching and other forms of overt brutality practiced against blacks, the effect of two world wars with the unmistakable changes they wrought in the society, changes of personnel on the Court, and the work of established civil rights groups like the NAACP and Urban League. These developments contributed to the maturing of a philosophy that found its quintessential expression in *Brown*. Add to this the skill and dedication of the lawyers who implemented the strategy devised in the 1930's, and the evolution of the law from *Plessy* to *Brown* can be understood. With the recognition by the nation's highest Court that segregation

<sup>16</sup> *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938).

<sup>17</sup> *Sipuel v. University of Oklahoma*, 332 U.S. 631 (1948).

<sup>18</sup> *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Board of Regents*, 339 U.S. 637.



inevitably meant discrimination and with the replacement in law of the principle of racial inferiority by that of racial equality, the stage was set for subsequent developments in law and in society.

### THE CHANGES WROUGHT BY BROWN

With the law no longer an obstruction, some communities, including the defendants in the Delaware, Kansas and District of Columbia cases, began desegregating their schools immediately. Others were defiant; in this group were South Carolina and Virginia, the other states directly involved in the decision. Before acting, ostensibly (though not actually), they were awaiting the Court's decision in the second *Brown* case a year later. For the Court, recognizing the import of its decision, had ordered the cases restored to its docket for reargument on the question of how its decision should be implemented. After reargument, the Court adopted a "with all deliberate speed" formulation of the defendants' duty to begin desegregation, i.e., the states were to be given time to effect the transition but "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" had to be made.<sup>19</sup>

This decision, however, prompted not only outright defiance (which was predictable), but what was to emerge as a greater problem: evasive tactics and delay. The decision also fostered attempts to misapply its doctrine. When the first *Brown* decision was announced, an appeal from a Florida court which had refused to admit a Negro to the University of Florida's Law School was pending. After the Court's decision, it ordered the lower court to reconsider the case. The Florida Supreme Court, however, interpreted the direction to reconsider the case as encompassing the second *Brown* decision as well as

the first and accordingly delayed the applicant's admission. Nearly a year after the second *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court ruled that in higher education "all deliberate speed" was inapplicable, that the admission of blacks to graduate schools was to be accomplished immediately.<sup>20</sup>

Another test of this principle that occurred shortly after *Brown* was the attempt of Autherine Lucy to gain admission to the University of Alabama. The local Alabama District Court, following the *Brown* decision, ordered her admission. But in this instance, occurring so soon after *Brown*, the changes in attitude just beginning to evolve had not developed sufficiently to provide the climate necessary to assure her attendance. Consequently, despite the Court's order, Autherine Lucy was thwarted in her attempt to enroll as a student. However, almost eight years later, in 1963, conditions had changed. Two other black students were admitted to this state university and by this time blacks had been admitted to other formerly all-white state universities, including the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi in 1962.

The effects of the *Brown* decision were seen soon in other areas. Legal decisions began to emerge, establishing the principle of nondiscrimination in the use of all governmentally connected facilities. The extension of the rule of *Brown* to public transportation was an apparent and logical step. The separate but equal doctrine had been transposed to public schools from the public transportation case of *Plessy*. Its repudiation in *Brown* obviously signaled an end to discrimination in transportation, particularly since *Plessy*, in fashioning the separate but equal doctrine, relied upon decisions upholding school segregation. Even before *Brown*, inroads had been made on the *Plessy* doctrine with regard to segregated travel. In a 1946 case, the Supreme Court had outlawed segregation in interstate travel.<sup>21</sup> After *Brown*, two decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission relied heavily on its doctrine in declaring carrier discrimination violative of the Interstate Commerce Act.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

<sup>20</sup> *Florida ex rel. Hawkins v. Board of Control*, 350 U.S. 413 (1956). In *Watson v. City of Memphis*, 373 U.S. 526 (1963), the Supreme Court aborted a similar attempt to delay integration of public parks.

<sup>21</sup> *Morgan v. Virginia*, 328 U.S. 373.

<sup>22</sup> *NAACP v. St. Louis-S.F. Ry. Co.*, 297 ICC 335 (1955); *Keys v. Carolina Coach Co.*, 64 MCG 769 (1955).

Prior to *Brown*, the Court, following *Plessy*, had held that state laws requiring segregation in intrastate travel were constitutional. But in a 1956 case which affirmed the decision of a Montgomery, Alabama, district court in the case growing out of the Montgomery bus boycott (which catapulted the late Martin Luther King, Jr., to national prominence) the Court held that segregation on intrastate buses was also forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>23</sup>

Another problem connected with the right to travel was that of the use of terminal facilities. The City of Birmingham, Alabama, in the late 1950's, attempted to maintain racial segregation at its railroad terminal facilities by distinguishing between interstate and intrastate passengers. Negroes who could not produce a ticket showing that they were passengers on an interstate journey were not permitted to use the waiting room available to all white passengers whether or not on an interstate journey. This practice too was stopped by a judicial decision relying heavily on the doctrine of *Brown*.<sup>24</sup> At about the same time, a young black Howard University law student was arrested in a Richmond, Virginia, bus terminal on a journey from Washington, D. C., to his home in Alabama because he insisted on service at the terminal's lunch counter. In a 1960 case (the first "sit-in" case in the Supreme Court), the Court held that passengers had a right to use any facilities that were an integral part of a carrier's operation.<sup>25</sup>

Notwithstanding this principle, most bus terminals throughout the South continued to segregate their facilities. Because of this, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), one

of the direct action groups which began to emerge after the *Brown* decision, sponsored the "freedom rides" in the spring of 1961. The freedom rides, like the growth of the direct action movement in the late 1950's and early 1960's generally, demonstrated the interlocking nature of the development of legal rules and the direct action protests set in motion by the *Brown* principle. For what emerged from this series of demonstrations in 1961 was not only a judicial declaration of the right of people to use transportation terminal facilities on an integrated basis,<sup>26</sup> but also principles of judicial protection for the expression of protest designed to remove the vestiges of the racial caste system.<sup>27</sup>

Absorption of the newly enunciated rule of the *Brown* cases occurred even more quickly in the area of public recreation than in that of public transportation. Pending at the time of the decision were three cases filed earlier in Baltimore seeking an end to racially segregated bathing facilities in that city and its environs which were to become the landmark cases in the field. After the decision was rendered, a federal district court in Baltimore rejected the argument that the rule of *Brown* should be extended to public recreation. However, this decision was overturned on appeal by a federal appeals court which held that racial segregation in recreational activities could not be sustained as a proper exercise of the state's police power.<sup>28</sup> This decision was later upheld by the Supreme Court.<sup>29</sup>

Numerous other cases in the years of the *Brown* decade established the right of Negroes to use a variety of public recreational and other facilities. In some instances, municipalities opted to close the facility in question rather than to permit use by Negroes,

(Continued on page 300)

<sup>23</sup> *Browder v. Gayle*, 352 U.S. 903 (1956).

<sup>24</sup> *Baldwin v. Morgan*, 287 F.2d 750 (1961).

<sup>25</sup> Two cases decided by lower federal courts in 1960 outlawed discrimination at airport terminals. *Henry v. Greenville Airport Commission*, 284 F.2d 631 (4th Cir. 1960) (waiting rooms); *Coke v. City of Atlanta*, 184 F.Supp. 579 (N.D. Ga. 1960) (restaurants).

<sup>26</sup> *Lewis, et al. v. Greyhound Corporation*, 199 F.Supp. 210 (1961).

<sup>27</sup> *United States v. U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc.*, 194 F.Supp. 897 (1961).

<sup>28</sup> *Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore*, 220 F.2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955).

<sup>29</sup> *Baltimore City v. Dawson*, 350 U.S. 877 (1955).

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*In the early 1960's "an entirely new set of forces had been mobilized on behalf of minority group rights: joint initiative by field workers and local residents, participatory, direct action by black and white people, and some degree of federal involvement. These forces revolutionized the civil rights movement in the South and permanently altered the thrust and style of Negro protest throughout the nation."*

## From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: The Unsettled 1960's

BY ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO  
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DURING THE PAST DECADE, the nature of relations between black and white Americans has changed with a decisive swiftness that many whites have refused to recognize and few have begun to comprehend. Established patterns of protest—such as the NAACP's efforts for legal and judicial redress—remain important and will be continued, but they no longer predominate. Today's attempts to achieve freedom for black people are varied and fluid. They form a mosaic of diverse groups, multiple leaderships, competing ideologies and innovative tactics, which to most whites (and even to some Negroes) seems a troublesome cacaphony of disparate voices. However, this diversity carries a very different meaning if viewed in positive terms as a composite of forces that exhibit a universal reality: the resolve of black people to structure their own lives and futures unhindered by the once-familiar tendency of white reformers to play leadership roles in decision-making processes.

In the early years of this decade, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee startled the nation from its apathy on racial issues by carrying out a series of imaginative activities that included sit-ins, picketing,

demonstrations, freedom rides, voter registration drives and community organization projects. These tactics emphasized the willingness of those who believed in civil rights to "put their bodies on the line," and they were implemented by the ready participation of local residents acting (at times) under the coordination of outside field workers. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., became the inspirational leader of this nonviolent movement and functioned as a mediator among the several civil rights organizations and between the black community and white America. In the fall of 1962, national attention was riveted on James Meredith's attempt to enroll at the University of Mississippi; his admission was effected by President John F. Kennedy's use of federal troops. Thus, by the beginning of 1963, the centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, an entirely new set of forces had been mobilized on behalf of minority group rights: joint initiative by field workers and local residents, participatory, direct action by black and white people, and some degree of federal involvement. These forces revolutionized the civil rights movement in the South and permanently altered the thrust and style of Negro protest throughout the nation. They seemed to herald a new day for American democracy.

However, a combination of political expedencies, white racism (exhibited in hesitation, indifference and outright opposition) and the diversion of energies to the war in Vietnam eroded the prospects for interracial justice. As quickly as it had emerged, the integrationist "We Shall Overcome" comradeship dissolved, and the years since 1965 have been marked by growing mistrust across race lines.

The major test of the civil rights movement had occurred in mid-1964. Building on the nationwide reaction against Southern white violence, and on the unprecedented display of interracial rapport during the 1963 March on Washington, the movement prepared to challenge racism in a systematic fashion through its Mississippi Summer Project. It was the high moment of unity. After months of debate, Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964; at the same time, the main protest organizations agreed to coordinate their efforts in Mississippi through the Council of Federated Organizations. The COFO program had three interrelated components: Freedom Schools, community service projects and an extensive voter registration drive on behalf of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. M.F.D.P. was an integrated party designed to rally the disfranchised in the state and to seek recognition at the Democratic National Convention as the party of loyal Mississippi Democrats ready to support Lyndon Johnson and a liberal national platform. The Summer Project was thoughtfully conceived and courageously executed to bring out-of-state assistance to people who wanted to help themselves, and to do it with at least the tacit support of an attentive nationwide audience. However, its success was only partial; the odds against it were too great.

After some hesitation, the Democratic National Convention refused to recognize the 68-member M.F.D.P. delegation. Instead, it offered two at-large seats. Many political observers—some close friends of the civil rights movement among them—urged the M.F.D.P. to accept. To the M.F.D.P. dele-

gates who had worked so hard and risked so much this compromise was out of the question. Moreover, the very suggestion convinced them that those who had not been close to the Summer Project on a daily basis could not comprehend the nature of racist oppression or the spiritual vigor of the freedom movement as it had taken shape in Mississippi. The congressional challenge through which the M.F.D.P. later tried to prevent the seating of the five white Mississippi Representatives at the opening of the 89th Congress proved to be only an emphatic coda to the integrationist symphony of the Summer Project. Even the subsequent agonies at Alabama's Selma Bridge, President Lyndon Johnson's Howard University commencement speech in June, 1965,<sup>1</sup> and the enactments of the Economic Opportunity Act and the Voting Rights Act seem, in retrospect, dramatic vestiges of a once widespread campaign for interracial justice. The main thrust of the campaign had been turned aside by the movement's most highly-placed liberal friends—Negro and white—at the 1964 Democratic Convention.

The refusal to seat the M.F.D.P. convinced S.N.C.C. militants—who had been the most important field-leadership element during the Summer Project—that there was no longer any reason to adhere to the integrationist, nonviolent, direct-action tactics that had carried them through their most difficult days in the lonely, hazardous backwaters of the rural South. Now the Establishment was exposed for the corrupt and corrupting force many of them had suspected it might show itself to be, and the time had come to formulate new goals, new ideologies and new methods. During the fall of 1964, S.N.C.C. held a series of week-long institutes for its field workers drawn from across the South. Angry, bitter men and women turned their attentions inward to the black community to devise ways in which it could be organized for action. As early as November, 1963, some black S.N.C.C. workers had urged a diminished role for whites in the movement; after the frustrations of mid-1964, it was easier for them to sweep away the reserva-

<sup>1</sup> In which he talked of economic and social freedoms beyond political rights alone.

tions held by their black colleagues. S.N.C.C. did allow some 300 whites to participate in its 1965 summer projects, but this was the last time the group would rely so extensively on white volunteers. The transition in the composition of its teams was not black racism, as some alarmed commentators chose to call it, but a frank recognition of the reality of race in America: black people, the victims of racial oppression, must depend upon themselves and their own judgments. Once that realization became prevalent among Afro-Americans, the black liberation movement was born.

### **LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

Early in 1965, Stokely Carmichael of S.N.C.C. entered Lowndes County, Alabama, to help organize the Black Panther party. S.N.C.C. teams and black area residents assumed great personal risks in an attempt to transform a county where, in 1964, not a single Negro citizen was registered to vote, despite a black numerical majority of four to one. Partly because of white intimidation, the Black Panthers lost their 1966 election bid to gain control of the courthouse in Alabama, but the party had become a new symbol of black militancy to be hailed and copied at other points across the nation. The Panthers represented an effort to work within—but thereby to change—the broader confines of the political system. In that sense they had much in common with the objectives of S.N.C.C., CORE, S.C.L.C., and even the NAACP. However, a number of competing spokesmen and philosophies sought to lead Afro-Americans away from that system.

Active in the mid-1930's, and nationally prominent since the late 1950's, the native-born black American Elijah Muhammad (Elijah Poole) and the "Nation of Islam" had long been in the vanguard of those who advocated complete black separation from white America. Muhammad urged black people to renounce everything that smacked of white dominance: the Christian religion, surnames that derived from a European heritage, economic and political affiliation with white "devils," and the United

States itself as a source of national identity. The self-help and strict, puritanical code of ethics that Muslims preached held wide appeal for certain quarters of black America, for they symbolized a renewed version of community with self-determination that had by the 1960's proved psychically and functionally rewarding to its adherents.

Elijah Muhammad's best known disciple was Malcolm X (Malcolm Little), an angry and disciplined black leader whose forceful logic and frank rhetoric about black liberation won thousands of supporters for the Nation of Islam. In 1964, Malcolm broke with Elijah Muhammad and set himself upon a course that was continually evolving until his assassination by Muslim rivals in February, 1965. Malcolm had consistently denounced white oppression, but after his visit to the Near East and Africa in 1964 he no longer based his philosophy on hatred of whites alone. Rather, he chose to stress the beauty of black culture, its historic contributions, the joy of black brotherhood and community, and the wisdom of working with whites whenever it would be useful for black people to do so—provided that the power to decide policy and action alternatives lay in black hands.

Malcolm articulated for a national audience what others had verbalized for smaller groups. He justified self-defense and the wisdom of striking back with force when others chose to employ violence against black people. Robert Williams, deposed NAACP leader of Monroe, North Carolina, had also upheld the right of black people to invoke force for defensive purposes, and his 1962 book on self-defense had made him a hero to black militants tired of turning the other cheek to aggression. In 1966, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, operating in Louisiana, announced their determination to use arms for defensive purposes. Similarly, local units of the Black Panthers in California have stocked weapons and, in the spring of 1969, black students at Cornell University introduced a new dimension to Northern campus activism when they took up arms with the claim that it was their last resort in an alien and embattled environment. Negroes,



often the victims of Southern white violence, have long kept weapons close at hand, but since the mid-1960's black people throughout the nation have bluntly asserted their right of armed protection against white aggressors—be they civilians or public authorities.

While COFO field workers were employing nonviolent, direct action against white racism in Mississippi, riots were erupting in Northern metropolitan areas, in what would become annual outbreaks of open rebellion among the nation's black ghetto residents. Though unrelated to the mainstream of the civil rights movement, the riots offered somber evidence of discontent and bitterness throughout black America. Fed by conditions of discrimination, economic deprivation and political powerlessness, the riots were often precipitated by (and frequently aggravated and prolonged by) public authorities whose actions indicated they had no understanding whatever of the smoldering hatred to which they had contributed. The rioters seized upon instances of abuse—a "routine" arrest, the shooting of a civilian by a policeman or some similar incident enacted once too often—to vent their anger against the two most visible elements of white society within the ghetto: the policeman and the white store owner. Though white liberals and Negro moderates condemned forms of violence they considered irrational and counterproductive, ghetto residents generally displayed effective restraint in not attacking the property of "soul brothers." Their conduct exhibited a buoyant sense of comradeship and community that might, under other circumstances, be channeled toward more concerted and far-reaching action alternatives against white society than the simple, short-run destruction of shops.

Moreover, by mid-1966 it was increasingly apparent that unrest and anger could coalesce around a positive ideological focus within black America. In a search for protection and liberation, for self-development and self-determination, the black community seized upon the concept of Black Power—a concept whose origins sprang from the unsettled domestic and international conditions of the decade. The phrase "Black Power" was em-

ployed in June, 1966, to rally militant participants during the completion of James Meredith's March for Freedom from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. Stokely Carmichael—along with CORE's Floyd McKissick—gave it voice. The phrase signaled an open breach between moderates and militants within the civil rights movement.

Arguing that black people must deal with the white majority from positions of political and economic strength, advocates of Black Power stressed—as had Malcolm—the beauty and joys of being black in a white, alien culture, and the necessity for structured group action to develop political, economic and cultural resources. Moderates, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the National Urban League among them, warned against the possible excesses of Black Power and echoed the fear of white liberals that the slogan might prove in fact to be merely a cover for a new wave of racism—this time black racism. Its adherents denied that this was its design or its necessary consequence. They likened Black Power to examples in the American past of ethnic and minority group action, practiced by those with European backgrounds who had come together for coordinated efforts on their own behalf.

In part, at least, Black Power reflected the worldwide thrust of non-whites against the backwash of colonial domination and of European and United States interference in African, Asian and Latin American affairs. Concern over and identification with the newly independent African states afforded black Americans contemporary models of peoples who had won their national freedoms. The African experiences of the mid-twentieth century also produced two concepts adapted to American needs. One was the cultural and racial sense of Negritude, popularized in the United States by the American Society of African Culture; the other was the politico-activist theory of Frantz Fanon, who described the manner in which violence must be utilized by colonial victims against oppressor nations. Testifying to the impoverished state of interracial rapport within the United States, black militants seized upon

these two ideas to construct various formulations about the reciprocity of black identity and revolution in the service of black liberation. Furthermore, militants increasingly urged black people to dissociate themselves from the decay of white society. While most Americans angrily, but incorrectly, labeled this black separatism and segregation in reverse, it should be viewed as a positive expression of black nationalism, voluntarily pursued and thus decidedly different from the traditional variants of white-imposed segregation. Furthermore, the implementation of black nationalism need not close off avenues of access and mobility for those who wish to move back and forth at will between white society and the black community.

The movement for black liberation took place in a setting of domestic unrest characterized by growing frustration over and distrust of traditional values, established authority and customary patterns of decision making. Dissatisfaction with the war in Vietnam, with the failures of Congress and of local and state governments to prosecute the war on poverty with vigor, and with the summary reception accorded the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D. C., in the summer of 1968 sharpened the belief among black, radical and student dissenters that national priorities had been ill conceived and foolishly pursued, both at home and abroad, in the face of glaring injustices and widespread, unattended human misery.

### **NEW FORMS OF PROTEST**

Today, black protest is strikingly different, in tone and composition, from its counterpart of 1960. While many of the same spokesmen and organizations endure and represent positions not dissimilar from those in the earlier period, there is now a wider range of groups urging more numerous action alternatives and protest ideologies upon the black community. Though frequently criticized by militants, the NAACP and the Urban League remain the principal vehicles for joint efforts by Negro moderates and white liberals. In like fashion, Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute continues to

call for a coalition of black leaders with labor and liberal reform spokesmen in pursuit of federally funded programs for employment and urban renewal.

Campaigns to bring more black voters to the polls have begun to yield results in the election of new black Congressmen from outside the South and the installation of several dozen elected black officials in local and county governments within the South. Julian Bond's seating in the Georgia state legislature represents a powerful new trend in Southern politics. On another, related front, the recently-activist National Welfare Rights Organization continues to mobilize America's disadvantaged across racial lines. Heavily committed to multiracial efforts for a quarter of a century, CORE has shifted its emphasis to black militancy; and while S.C.L.C. retains its endorsement of nonviolence, it has deliberately shifted to programs concerned more directly with labor organizing, and economic, educational and political activities at the community level, rather than the initiation of massive demonstrations intended to influence Congress and the general public.

At the extremes, there are a number of exceedingly vocal, active and militant groups. At the far left are those that view the race problem as a factor of class, as much as caste, disabilities. The Progressive Labor Movement, for example, has assumed a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position. Like the more traditionalistic Marxists of the Communist Party-U.S.A., the P.L.M. must devise ways to train a generation of black militants to think ideologically in terms of the class struggle. While the problems of racist discrimination and the deprivations suffered by workers are not incompatible, the increasing enthusiasm for Black Power and black identity may make difficult, if not impossible, the task of orienting protest around dialectical materialism, however defined and modified.

Among the Black Power groups, there are important differences regarding strategies and tactics, although these differences would melt in any open crisis or confrontation with white society as a whole. For the most part, Eldridge Cleaver and the Black Panthers have

agreed to work purposefully with white radical forces for common political and economic objectives, provided that such cooperation does not sacrifice the interests of the black community. The 1968 Presidential campaign of the Peace and Freedom party and joint efforts with the Students for a Democratic Society are examples of this collaboration. At the same time, some Black Power leaders feel that Afro-Americans must fashion their own plans and conduct their own programs apart from any involvement with white radicals. Ron Karenga and his militant organization, US, represent this approach. During the summer of 1969, Stokely Carmichael announced from Africa that he had resigned from the Black Panthers because of their work with white radicals; Carmichael asserted that the only path to liberation lay in effecting a united front of black people in Africa and in the United States.

In positive terms, however, the factors that unite rather than divide Black Power advocates are the more important. Whatever their positions on tactics and potential allies, all Black Power leaders agree on the need for black people to cultivate a sense of community and group esprit, an identity grounded in the affirmative recognition of their blackness and common heritage, and an orientation that perceives mutual interests and cultural ties with each other and with Africa. The energetic work of black theater groups, such as LeRoi Jones' Newark ensemble, The Spirit House Movers and Players, and the Mafundi Institute in Los Angeles, has generated a broadened awareness of black culture, black community and black unity against white oppression in either its latent or manifest forms.

The insistence upon community control of neighborhood schools is meant to provide another instrument for training oneself and one's children to "think black." Black cultural identity forms the cement that will hold the community together, not merely for survival—however courageously practiced in the past—but also for the more positive political and economic action programs that will make black liberation meaningful. At the national level, the annual Black Power conferences,

the first of which met after the Newark riot of 1967, are to provide periodic opportunities for interchange and policy formulation on a front far broader than can be offered by intensive, day-to-day community development.

Given the current racial situation in the United States, it seems clear that we have entered a revolutionary era. Diffuse ghetto rebelliousness and coordinated black militancy indicate this. So, too, do the refusals of noted black leaders to lend their time and energies to meetings that appear to them and their followers to be cordial but ineffectual gatherings to search for "moderate" procedural solutions without substantive meaning. Contrasted with the concern for a "federal presence" and with the eagerness to work with the federal government during the early part of the decade, the ease with which black militants dissociated themselves from Lyndon Johnson's White House conference in June, 1966, and the unwillingness of CORE director Floyd McKissick to meet with the President shortly after the assassination of Dr. King (because no black militants were present) reveal the extent of black disenchantment with white society and its authority figures.

Afro-Americans will increasingly look inward to the black community. Coordinating organizations such as Newark's United Brothers, the Black Consortium in Chicago, the Self-Determination Federation of Detroit, the United Black Front in the District of Columbia, and the Black Congress of Los Angeles will be on the cutting edge of this process, mobilizing otherwise disparate elements in the work of black liberation. Groups will shift, dissolve and re-form in

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*Noting that "the isolated salients established by black political awareness must be protected now," this black political leader warns that "the importance of black participation in politics, black leadership in the democratic processes, and the contributions blacks can make to urban solutions all become academic if black hopes are cut off at the political pass by tactical devices."*

## The Black Role in Urban Politics

BY RICHARD G. HATCHER

*Mayor, Gary, Indiana*

BLACK POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS in the United States can be real and tangible only when black communities have evidence from the nation's polling places of the importance of their participation. Blacks must have lasting and visible leverage. When entire communities finally accept black leadership as they do Irish leadership, or Italian leadership, as an established fact, and do not regard it as a passing poignancy—a latter day Reconstruction phenomenon of temporary dimensions—then relevancy will come. When there is an end to attempts to beat black hands off the lever of political power or to slide the fulcrum from under the lever, then the larger questions of the meaning of black power can be asked intelligently and answered meaningfully.

Black political power today is most visible and most meaningful in urban America. Yet in the cities, where black power is important, the realization of black political hope is threatened today by a two-pronged attack. By cutting away territory where black people have gained some measure of reasonable influence, or by adding territory around the black center, the opponents of change seek to weaken whatever momentum black political action can generate.

The politics of abandonment is at work in urban America in some quarters; the politics of envelopment is manifest in others. The difference is most often the difference be-

tween Metro Government—an enlargement of the metropolis—on the one hand, and moves toward disannexation—neighborhood independence from cities—on the other. It is a difference in the shape of shadows.

In Gary, Indiana, for example, there are those in a large, virtually wholly white section of the city, Glen Park, who would like to disannex from the city proper. The intensity of their desire to leave Gary and incorporate separately is unfurling now, and remains to be formally tested. Those who support disannexation seem to believe that by changing the name of their community, by becoming known as something other than Gary, they will escape the turbulence and the challenges of the times. The price of disannexation for Glen Park would be high in a number of ways, and there are many motives for this aggressive pursuit of urban fractionalization. Yet its supporters seem to press for disaffiliation from the city despite all practical considerations.

The specter raised by the Gary disannexation movement is a specter of national significance. Glen Park holds about 36,000 of Gary's more than 180,000 citizens. The area is separated from the rest of the city by a highway, a river, and perhaps some several generations of social thought. The latter will better be known when the disannexation drive either folds up under its own weight or proceeds aggressively with wide support.

Regardless of its support in Glen Park, the questions posed by disannexation remain real. If Glen Park can disannex, can United States Steel, the vast industrial complex at the north edge of the city, also cut loose—taking its 40 per cent of the city's tax base with it?

If Glen Park can disannex, can an industrial park in a medium sized community in Massachusetts explore the economic potential in such a step? Can it set up new political sovereignty, financially independent of the community that provides its manpower—the community that supports that manpower with services from schools to water?

If Glen Park can disannex, what are the possibilities in major cities like Chicago, Los Angeles or Detroit when they first elect a black mayor? Will these cities, brittle with anxiety, shatter into separate units, each with cutting edges turned toward the others?

The thrust of the Glen Park disannexation effort puts pressure on Los Angeles, Boston and innumerable cities between. It is a blunt and costly response to black realization, an embryonic American version of apartheid.

To Glen Parkers, disannexation will cost money. Under present law, they are not able to incorporate and, as an unincorporated area, they would have to rely on county services. Since Glen Park could not disannex from some other government units, such as the School City, additional complications would arise. The cost of setting up a government (if and when incorporation became a fact) would be great, and without the advantage of United States Steel's contribution to tax revenues, taxes would certainly rise.

All this and more has been detailed at length to Glen Parkers, yet some of them continue to attempt to obscure the real issues and the actual costs of disannexation. They claim that Gary's city services are not up to par, and that this is a major consideration of the politics of abandonment. On the other hand, many disinterested citizens maintain that city services have never been at such a high level of efficiency. In any event, the "services" argument is weak in the face of the historic facts of Gary. Interestingly,

there were no organized attempts to build a disannexation drive in years past when Gary was governed by mayors who went to jail for sundry misdeeds.

In a recent national magazine interview, the leading exponent of Glen Park disannexation was quoted at length on his perception of the city he serves. The major revelatory impact of his remarks had nothing to do with garbage collection—his remarks reveal a white supremacist view of history and a distrust of the mode and manner of black people.

There can be little doubt what disannexation is all about in Gary. It is, at the core, white reaction to black ascendancy. Gary suffers from the social schizophrenia of our times, with the 10 major metropolises of the nation headed inexorably toward black majorities.

#### **METRO GOVERNMENT**

There is another contemporary non-solution to urban problems that is achieving new currency and a more respectable momentum. This second tine of the sharp-pointed fork of unresponsiveness to city needs is one aspect or another of the modern phenomenon known as Metro Government, or Uni-Gov or whatever euphemistic label is locally popular. In the urban areas that are moving in this direction, it is not the chipping away of the urban mass that appeals, but the drawing of ever larger concentric circles of governmental structure that just as effectively enervates the strength of the inner city. Need is not abandoned with this technique. It is smothered.

Like a doctor's prescription scrawled in Latin, the processes of traditional Establishment rule have long been kept from the uninitiated black and poor and powerless communities. Every American city of any size supports a black ghetto teeming with the disadvantaged, the alienated, the suppressed. These ghettos are growing in anger and political and social sophistication. They are closing in on once hidden power, the power that will give them an equal voice and equal opportunity. Today they are learning how the political game is played. At the same



time, the Establishment is trying to change the rules.

No one has a right to be dismayed if the ghetto does not swing enthusiastically behind the area government concept. Good intentions notwithstanding, to the ghetto Metro Government means more of the same tired struggle. To the ghetto, with its accelerating awareness, Metro Government is one more flanking maneuver—another way, however subtle, to offer oblique reaction to needs that require honest response.

Enlightened leaders make a persuasive case for Metro Government. They talk sensibly of the proliferation of tax districts without contiguous boundaries, from Mosquito Abatement districts to school districts. They deplore, with reason, the confusion these many overlapping authorities can cause.

Enlightened leaders speak of political and social problems that do not end at traditional political lines; they speak of the need for co-ordination and overall planning in the megapolises. They are, of course, right. They even decry the usually toothless attempts of Metropolitan Area Planning Commissions to fill the bill for the larger community, and they are right again.

To the ghetto, it still looks as if whitey is trying to mute black voices by diluting the vote of these new huddled masses. And the ghetto, too, is right. Whatever the motives for Metro Government, at the theory's end, the practical effect is to undermine black power.

Indeed, if the choice is between deferring the black dream—already deferred beyond all human understanding—or of deferring the eminent logic of Metro Government, the choice is clear. Metro Government must wait.

Nonetheless, the apologists for area-wide government make too much sense to be lightly dismissed. They have too much logic on their side. They are doing more than saying "no" to black America. In most cases, the "no" is merely a byproduct of a sincerely held conviction that many of our problems must be dealt with on an area-wide basis if they are to be dealt with at all.

## URBAN NEEDS

Rapid metropolitan growth has been no respecter of political boundaries, and communities today spill across city lines in a stretching, reaching urban sprawl of constantly remagnified proportions. In such a situation, inter-governmental communication is an absolute necessity. The awesome problems of air and water pollution cannot be attacked tellingly when they are attacked by isolated units. Such battles, to be won, must become area-wide battles rather than isolated skirmishes.

In addition, the tax calls on citizens are topping out; they approach levels beyond which further taxes cannot be tolerated. Simultaneously, citizen demands increase. If the social flow is ever to be reversed, if the poverty cycle is to be broken, these requirements must be met now. Ten years from now may be too late. Economies, then, must be effected, and area cooperation is one route to new economy.

Cooperation in areas such as interdepartmental police communication would be of great value. The list of needs requiring cooperation multiplies with the complexities of our burgeoning population in a mathematical progression of unmet problems. The solutions so far offered to these clear requirements for mutual assaults on mutual enemies are largely variations on, or degrees of, Metro Government. In some instances, they are bureaucratic preambles to Metro Government.

Unfortunately, if such solutions are incautiously handled, the black community—a body that is just beginning to flex its political muscles—will see its main chance disappearing even as it recognizes that chance. If the answers sap sovereignty from emerging black political power, what answers to their own destiny will be left to blacks? The

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*"If [black studies] is ever going to develop into a meaningful academic discipline, traditionalists and black militants must somehow reach understandings on such basic issues as curriculum, control and interracial participation. . . . If confrontation is allowed to escalate beyond the point where reasonable debate remains possible, black studies will be the inevitable victim."*

## Ghetto and Gown: The Birth of Black Studies

BY ROGER A. FISCHER

*Associate Professor of History, Southwest Missouri State College*

UNLIKE MOST academic programs, black studies was not born in a faculty senate chamber or in a dean's conference room, or even on a college campus. It all began more than a decade ago at those Southern lunch counters and deserted bus stops where black people finally rose in rebellion against nearly three and a half centuries of second-class citizenship.

Northern college campuses soon became hotbeds of sympathy for the "movement" and in the process discovered embarrassing inconsistencies between their libertarian beliefs and their lily-white student bodies. All too often, black enrollment was limited to a star basketball player or two and a few local Negroes who showed up for classes, then obligingly disappeared when it was time for social activities. Finally, while the state universities of Mississippi and Alabama made their stand for segregation by massive resistance and redneck rhetoric "in the school-house door," many of the better Northern schools began to fulfill a commitment to racial equality by earnestly recruiting black students without regard to their prowess at broken-field running or the zone defense.

These young black men and women undoubtedly went to college with naively high expectations. If Negroes since Booker T. Washington have regarded higher education

as the key to opportunity, surely the prestigious Northern universities were the path to the promised land. Negro students were looking for the American dream, but found instead the bitter disillusionment of hopeless alienation. Some whites literally smothered them with paternalism. As one proud black man remembered his two years at Yale, he had been "the chosen one on whom all the benefits of a guilt complex could be bestowed—a kind of little tan Orphan Annie befriended by a great white Daddy Warbucks." Other whites tried to destroy racial differences by ignoring them. An eminent historian rhapsodized in his introduction to a study of slavery, "Negroes are, after all, only white men with black skins, nothing more, nothing less." In short, the white university unwittingly tried to transform its black students into what Lerone Bennett, Jr., has described as "Orwellian non-persons" by failing to come to terms with their blackness.

The identity crisis of the black students was compounded by the Anglo-Saxon orientation of their studies. American literature courses meandered from Michael Wigglesworth to J. D. Salinger without acknowledging the poems of Lawrence Dunbar or the novels of James Baldwin. Music professors blandly attributed the origins of jazz to Paul Whiteman. Few dramatics courses inter-

rupted their readings of the hallowed classics to pay any attention to Lorraine Hansberry's brilliant *Raisin in the Sun*. All too often, the only Negroes encountered in studies of American culture were little Topsy, Uncle Remus and those docile darkies of *Green Pastures*, Sambo stereotypes created by white writers for white readers.

United States history courses ignored the African heritage so completely that it seemed to Lerone Bennett as if "black Americans appear suddenly by a process of spontaneous generation." Negroes merited attention in American history surveys only when they were making trouble or when white agitators were doing so on their behalf. Ten Jeffersonians arrested under the Alien and Sedition decrees often received as much time as and more sympathy than four million enslaved blacks. Instructors spent weeks discussing the white immigrant ghettos of the nineteenth century, then ignored Harlem, Hough and Watts altogether.

Stripped of their identities as black people and forced into a curriculum that denied their heritage by an unconscious conspiracy of silence, black students found themselves completely, irreconcilably alienated within the ivy-covered confines of the white universities. Integration seemed to lead only to invisibility and those tempted to try it were haunted by fears that they might become, as Dartmouth's F. Woody Lee put it, "little more in the eyes of many whites than a genteel nigger—a showcase coon." Rebellion seemed the only answer, and black students eagerly embraced the heady new doctrines of black consciousness. From Malcolm X they discovered the brotherhood of all blacks and the essential dignity of the black identity. From Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown they learned how to transform Malcolm's teachings into the political activism of Black Power. And so they rebelled, in part against the racism of the white university system, but primarily against their own false prophets who had deluded them with hair straighteners and colored country clubs and Urban League brotherhood week banquets.

The wave of campus confrontations that

began at the Berkeley campus of the University of California five years ago was essentially a white phenomenon, but it provided watchful black militants with an excellent practical education in the tactics of disruption. From such white radicals as Mario Savio, they learned that a great university could be literally immobilized by boycotts, sit-ins, and the "liberation" of administration buildings. They discovered the awesome secret of student power, that the university was pathetically vulnerable to the pressures that could be brought to bear upon it by a relatively small cadre of well organized, deeply dedicated student revolutionaries. Blacks began to organize, and soon groups known by such titles as the United Black Students, the Association of African and Afro-American Students, the Onyx Society, the Soul Students Advisory Council, and the Black Students Union appeared on campus after campus.

The names may have differed, but the common goal of these organizations was the "de-honkification" of the universities. To achieve that result, these black student unions issued a series of demands, among them the hiring of more black professors and the enrollment of more black students through recruiting, scholarships and relaxed admissions standards. Specific demands varied greatly, including moratoriums on failing grades, blanket subsidies for minority students, and a school holiday on the birthday of Malcolm X. But one demand was virtually universal and led nearly every list of priorities. It called for the creation of programs in black studies.

The idea was wholeheartedly embraced by many beleaguered administrations and faculties. Universities where tranquillity still reigned joined in the rush to establish black studies programs to head off future trouble. Everybody, it seemed, favored black studies in the abstract. The problems began on many campuses when the militants and the Establishment sat down together to iron out specific details and discovered that neither group had the slightest notion what the other really meant by "black studies." For the

past two years, the development of black studies as an academic discipline has been stalled by this communications barrier. Unless one faction capitulates completely or both can agree on a common definition, black studies may be bogged down indefinitely.

Academic traditionalists, including most scholars and nearly all administrators, think of black studies as the body of subject matter relating to the Negro experience in Africa and the New World. Within their frame of reference, a curriculum in black studies would consist of such courses as African and American Negro history, tribal anthropology, the politics and sociology of ethnic minorities and Negro music, art, literature and theater. They would most probably be grouped together in an interdisciplinary "area studies" program, with supervision divided among a coordinating committee, the participating departments and the administration. These courses would be taught by professors, white or black, with the proper academic credentials, and would be open to all eligible students. In defining black studies in this manner, traditionalists are merely following hallowed academic practices. Courses have always been organized into disciplines by the nature of their subject matter. Control has invariably rested within the chain of command which comprises the administrative hierarchy. Possession or pursuit of the doctorate, not skin color, has long been the yardstick of serious scholarly intent.

These criteria, however important they may be to the maintenance of academic excellence, are regarded by many militant Negroes as irrelevant, possibly dangerous, obstacles to their pursuit of a black studies program as they envision it. They have not yet developed a common blueprint for the operational mechanics of a black studies program tailored to their tastes, although an ambitious project in that direction was begun this summer by Vincent Harding at the Institute for the Black World in Atlanta. Most militants see black studies not as a labyrinth of curriculum committees and degree requirements, but as a collegiate training ground with a single over-riding purpose, the ad-

vancement of the black revolution in every facet of American life.

As Cornell's Harry Edwards has noted, "The time is gone for black cats to flee to Baldwin Hills and eat pickles and hors d'oeuvres and watch the riots on color TV." According to Nathan Hare, recently deposed black studies director at San Francisco State College, "black today is revolutionary and nationalistic. A black studies program which is not revolutionary and nationalistic is, accordingly, quite profoundly irrelevant." In keeping with the activist definition, a meaningful black studies program must train black students to organize the urban ghettos and the black-belt South, to utilize the tactics of civil disobedience against racial discrimination, and to guide their brothers and sisters who never got to college toward greater social, economic and political opportunities.

Embittered by the oppressions of the past and impatient to undertake the reconstruction of the future, these black militants hold very little reverence for traditional academic niceties. Lectures on such esoteric topics as "the social dynamics of a fifteenth-century West African agricultural village" or "Camille Thierry, free Negro poet in Paris" may indeed warm the cockles of the scholastic heart, but they seem rather pointless to those whose daily lives have been endless struggles against ghetto rodents or "white only" restrooms. Even topics much more pertinent to current realities have been dismissed by many activists as meaningless. Commenting on Edward Greenberg's course on "The Politics of Race" in the black studies program at Stanford University, one Negro student complained, "Greenberg tells us the blacks haven't gotten anyplace politically. . . . Hell, we know that. What I want to know is where we can go from here, and how."

Complaining about the Establishment's concepts on curriculum, Cornell's Bill Osby lamented, "They will simply let us study black history and wear *dashikis* while we get ready to work for Xerox or IBM." Black ideas on curriculum vary widely. Nathan Hare favors a "comprehensive, integrated body of interdisciplinary courses" emphasizing the "black

perspective," including economics, science and mathematics. "Black mathematics," as Hare envisions it, "would not be saturated with middle-class referents such as stocks and bonds" and a course in "black biochemistry" might study such topics as rat control. Other black studies architects advocate more limited programs based upon the black experience in social sciences and the arts. Many activists demand a curriculum which reflects their revolutionary ideology. They favor such courses as San Francisco State's "Sociology of Black Oppression," in which instructor Jerry Varnado wrote out the formula for napalm so that his students could "pour it on a piece of meat or on the police or somebody and see exactly how it works."

If many black militants find conventional ideas on curriculum annoyingly irrelevant, they regard the traditional "power structure" of the university as the ultimate enemy. If absolute sovereignty over black studies rests with the deans and the trustees, Negroes fear that these programs will most probably be systematically emasculated of any productive value they might otherwise engender. Overwhelmingly white, middle-class, middle-aged and politically "safe," college administrators and trustees have come to personify the hated white Establishment to many campus blacks. This suspicion has led to demands for "autonomy," or black control over black studies programs.

Proposals on how autonomous status can be attained are varied, including such ambitious schemes as totally separate colleges for black studies within the university system, with independent governing boards and budgets. Most often, however, proponents of autonomy advocate separate departments of black studies with black student power over curriculum and the hiring and firing of faculty. This dispute has been a volatile one, for militants and administrators know well that the nature and philosophy of any academic program is largely determined by those who possess the ultimate control over it.

The most explosive issue of all has been the question of white participation in black studies. Directly related to the bitter inte-

grationist-separatist controversy now ripping apart the delicate unity of the "movement" itself, black militant demands for the exclusion of white professors and students have alienated many Negroes and virtually all of the white academic community. Separatists argue that no white scholar, however illustrious his learned degrees and publications, can truly understand the black experience. As Johnie Scott, a Stanford University senior from Watts, expressed it, "No white man can talk about Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael."

Separatists object to the presence of white students in black studies courses for a variety of reasons. Some of the more paranoid blacks have expressed the fear that whites would take advantage of the knowledge they gained to keep on exploiting the blacks. Others feel that the presence of whites retards open discussion. A black student at Oakland's Merritt College, urging a lone white to leave a class in black philosophy, pointed out, "So long as this white boy is in this class, we're going to be talking elliptically, all around and over the subject, but no one is really going to be saying anything."

A few schools have apparently surrendered to the new apartheid. At Merritt College, black instructors reportedly prevent white students from attending some of the 15 courses in their black studies program. Officials at other schools have allegedly ignored incidents in which whites have been ejected from classes by black student vigilantes. Antioch College gained nationwide notoriety this past year by summarily excluding white students from its black studies institute, a policy which the United States Office of Education regarded as a violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Faced with the loss of federal funds, Antioch administrators defended their actions by arguing that admission to the program was based not on race but on its "relevance" to the needs and experience of the students, a subterfuge hauntingly reminiscent of the "grandfather clause" of another generation.

The Antioch situation is by no means commonplace, for nearly all college ad-



ministrations have opposed institutional color lines and most Negroes reject separatism emphatically. As integrationist Negro spokesman Roy Wilkins has pointed out, "We have suffered too many heartaches and shed too much blood in fighting the evil of racial segregation to return in 1969 to the lonely and dispiriting confines of its demeaning prison." Negro psychologist Kenneth Clark has stated that to encourage separatism "is to reinforce the Negro's inability to compete with the whites for the real power of the real world." Even Nathan Hare, an outspoken black militant, has remarked, "We think that separatism is often a pretext to evade acting in a revolutionary fashion now."

Even so, the Antioch controversy symbolizes too well the current dilemma of black studies. If it is ever going to develop into a meaningful academic discipline, traditionalists and black militants must somehow reach understandings on such basic issues as curriculum, control and interracial participation. Accommodation will probably be difficult to achieve, for the rhetoric of revolution is seldom conducive to the realities of compromise. If confrontation is allowed to escalate beyond the point where reasonable debate remains possible, black studies will be the inevitable victim. The militants have been successful with the strategy of limited disruption, but they lack the power to immobilize most universities completely and even the most timorous trustees and administrators unquestionably have their breaking points. Every indication points to a rising tide of social reaction, to a climate in which repression would be welcomed by regents, legislators and a public which remembers too vividly the guns of Cornell. If reaction and repression ever become the order of the day, black studies will surely die the death of a sacrificial lamb.

It is most unlikely that many colleges will permit the militants to define the curriculum in terms of the philosophy of black revolution. To grant any ideology such privileged status would be a gross violation of the traditional concept of the university as a laissez-faire marketplace for the free exchange of ideas. Moreover, if most regents, administrators and

legislators were given to promoting special treatment for any political philosophy, it most assuredly would not be Black Power. Few members of the Establishment would look fondly upon a black mathematics course in which, as Nathan Hare has suggested, the instructor might ask, "If you loot one store and burn two, how many do you have left?" It seems equally unlikely that black autonomy will be taken very seriously by most college administrations. Most regents and administrators believe that their surrender of control would lead to out-and-out anarchy. Few of them, needless to say, are anarchists.

The militants must also abandon the notion that white students and professors should be excluded from participation in black studies programs. This latter-day apartheid is legally questionable and morally indefensible. Moreover, separatism could well prove suicidal to the black studies program. If "white racism" is the greatest single obstacle to black aspirations, as the Kerner Commission has alleged, then white students would be the most logical beneficiaries of black studies. At the very least, their presence in the classes would add the element of interracial dialogue. Black studies programs also need qualified white professors, for such programs will need all of the academic talent they can muster to survive their infancy and justify their existence as a discipline.

White scholars have contributed substantially to black studies in the past. It would be impossible, for example, to imagine a course on slavery which neglected the writings of Kenneth Stampp, Stanley Elkins and Eugene Genovese or a study of segregation which ignored the works of Gunnar Myrdal, John Dollard and C. Vann Woodward. It would be tragic if the Myrdals and Woodwards of the future were forced to detour into other disciplines because black studies

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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### UNDERSTANDING NEGRO HISTORY.

EDITED BY DWIGHT W. HOOVER. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968. Preface, 422 pages, notes and index, \$2.95.)

Dwight Hoover has made a perceptive selection of articles from recent historical journals, to provide a framework for the rapidly expanding field of research in Negro history and to demonstrate the major problems encountered by historians in this field. Six of the articles were written in the 1950's, the other eighteen appeared after 1960.

Responsible scholarship and good writing distinguish all the selections. While the book is aimed largely at those now concerned with the explosive growth of Black History studies in universities and high schools, it is fascinating and sobering fare for the general reader.

**BLACK ABOLITIONISTS.** BY BENJAMIN QUARLES. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. Preface, 249 pages, bibliography, notes and index, \$6.75.)

This is a scholarly and highly readable account of a little-appreciated facet of American history—the dedicated efforts made by Negro free men to aid their enslaved brothers. Quarles' book is a valuable contribution to pre-Civil War American history and one that deserves wide reading.

**BLACK PROFILES.** BY GEORGE R. METCALF. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968. 336 pages, source notes, \$6.95.)

George Metcalf brings to this book his training in journalism and his years as a New York State legislator sponsoring bills to advance civil rights and public health. The biographies are of people as well known as Martin Luther King, Jr., Medgar Evers and James Meredith, but he treats his subjects with an insight and

sympathy which helps make clearer the forces that drove and inspired them.

**BLACK HEROES IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.** BY PHILLIP T. DROTNING. (New York: Cowles Book Co., 1969. 223 pages, bibliography and index, \$5.95.)

Phillip Drotning is a talented "communicator" with long experience as a political journalist and government press officer. His book is written in Sunday supplement style, skimming the surface details from more scholarly and detailed studies. His treatment of the Black Heroes is admiring but superficial.

**EARLY AMERICAN VIEWS ON NEGRO SLAVERY.** EDITED BY MATTHEW T. MELLON. (New York: Bergman Publishers, 1969. 167 pages, notes, bibliography and index, \$6.50.)

Mellon has done only part of the job implied by his title. While Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison are represented here, some at considerable length, they hardly exhaust the roster of important Early Americans, nor are their views representative of all their distinguished compatriots. A foreword by Richard B. Morris goes part way to redress the balance.

Given the proviso that this work is only a beginning, it is a valuable beginning.

**SIGNIFICANT DOCUMENTS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY: VOLS. I & II.** EDITED BY RICHARD B. MORRIS. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969. 724 pages, \$7.00.)

Bound in paper and easy to read, this collection of important documents is a most useful addition to any school library. The documents are the expected ones, ranging from the Mayflower Compact to the

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Each document is preceded by a short, useful explanation of its significance.

**THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.** BY JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969. Prologue, 148 pages, sources, notes and index, \$1.45.)

This brief but important book is one of Dr. Franklin's most valuable contributions to the field of U.S. history. The topic is, of course, of great interest at this time. His scholarship assures fresh insights into the events surrounding the proclamation, and his writing style increases the reader's pleasure.

As is often the case when fine scholars publish their work, the notes on sources are almost as valuable and interesting as the body of the text. The clues provided therein are helpful leads for serious history students at the college level.

**CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO.** EDITED BY ALBERT P. BLAUSTEIN AND ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO. (New York: Washington Square Press, 1968. 656 pages and index, \$7.95.)

This book is basic source material for any course in black studies, and a needed corrective for regular courses in U.S. history. The editors have sought out old shipping journals, legislative annals, minutes of Quaker Meetings and British court records which, added to the more accessible Supreme Court opinions, provide perceptive comments on the origins of prejudice and the glacially slow progress toward civil rights.

Where the documents have been condensed, they have been handled with intelligence, and the brief comments heading each section add to the value of the work.

**GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. VOL. II.** EDITED BY SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, HENRY STEELE COM-MAGER AND WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG.

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, Sixth Edition. 877 pages, maps, illustrations and index, \$9.50.)

It is always a matter for rejoicing when a classic work of great value is brought up to date. Fresh interpretations reflect newly discovered sources and the changing viewpoints of the historians. Too often a "new edition" simply means the addition of a chapter bringing the material closer to the present time. Here, instead, there is substantial rewriting. Recent events cast the past into a new light—the impact of class, ethnic and sectional aspects on the voting pattern of Americans is a case in point.

There is far greater consideration of the role of the Negro in American life. Here, too, more recent events have caused serious rethinking of old attitudes.

Scattered throughout the volume are useful and pertinent maps and charts and a noteworthy collection of illustrations. The portraits of notables make them look like human beings instead of the usual "tintype" representation—pictures of child laborers and sweat shops, arriving immigrants, and the imaginative use of paintings add an extra dimension of pleasure. The book is a fine source work and a pleasure to read.

**BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.** EDITED BY WILLIAM F. HADDAD AND G. DOUGLAS PUGH. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969. 171 pages and index, \$4.95.)

The 15 authors of the papers in this volume prepared them originally as background material for an American Assembly conference in April, 1969. The need for black ownership as opposed to jobs is at the forefront of concern. The authors are realistic in their assessments of the problems involved. No one could accuse them of excessive optimism but their research is impeccable.

**CONFRONTATION AT OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE.** EDITED BY MAURICE R. BERUBE AND MARILYN GITTELL. (New

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## CURRENT DOCUMENTS

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# Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka

*In May, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in the famous Brown case, 347 U.S. 483. This case overthrew the "separate but equal" doctrine which had been in effect since Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896. Excerpts from the opinion follow:*

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they have been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537. . . . Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal" and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws.

Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was

largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *supra*, involving not education but transportation. American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In *Cumming v. County Board of Education*, 175 U.S. 528, and *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337; *Sipuel v. Oklahoma*, 332 U.S. 631; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637. In none of these cases was it necessary

to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

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## THE UNSETTLED 1960'S

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response to new challenges and opportunities, external and internal, but the recognition of black identity will sustain the action within black America. Simultaneously, established organizations, the NAACP and the Urban League among them, and newer groups and activities such as the Black Economic Development Conference and S.C.L.C.'s Operation Breadbasket will keep open the lines to various resources and forms of ad hoc cooperation with white society.

For the most part, white America neither understands nor trusts the new thrust for black liberation. Having little inclination for and almost no practice in "thinking black," the white society tends to ignore or denounce ideologies and action patterns it does not share. In the period from 1960 to 1965, the nation showed a willingness to accede to a number of reforms sought by the civil rights movement. Cold war tensions had lessened and the national economy was enjoying a new and sustained buoyancy. Because the majority of middle class whites and those who aspired to that status felt they could relax their fears about familiar international and domestic crises, they were able to respond positively to civil rights appeals. Accordingly, some progress was made; some hopes were generated. But by 1969, the war in Vietnam and the diversion of American resources to new rounds of military spending had combined with the uncertainties of the domestic economy, the spiral of inflation, and the pressures of rising taxes and interest rates to create another series of foreign and domestic crises. Feeling themselves increasingly pinched and harassed, middle class whites will not risk a renewed investment of their tangible resources and psychic energies in working with the black quest for freedom. However, that quest is now too far advanced and too fully sustained by vibrant ideologies centering around black identity to be reversed.

What the United States needs is not a refurbished brand of "tolerance," as the white liberals of the 1940's knew the term, but a bold acceptance and deliberate, sustained endorsement of diversity. The American nation needs a "creative pluralism"; it must lend its weight and its resources to movements and philosophies it cannot directly and fully share nor immediately understand. In the long run, such creative pluralism can help the entire society to evolve imaginative and unique instruments for freedom and human dignity. The changes in the United States will be abrupt and painful. Whether white America has the flexibility to respond in broadly creative and mature ways has yet to be determined.

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## THE BIRTH OF BLACK STUDIES

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discouraged them with signs saying, in effect, "No Irish Need Apply."

Compromise should not come, however, completely on traditionalist terms. The proposals of the black militants may be impractical and in some cases academically unsound, but they convey an urgency and an immediacy so often missing in the Ivory Tower. Autonomy may be unrealistic, but black students certainly deserve a meaningful voice in determining the faculty and curriculum of black studies programs. Above all, the courses must attempt to meet contemporary needs. As the Stanford student pointed out, "What I want to know is where we can go from here, and how." Nathan Hare's concept of a black science course to study rat control is excellent and should be expanded into other areas. Black economics should study welfare survival in the ghetto and the feasibility of boycotting merchants guilty of discriminatory hiring practices. Black political science must teach its students to organize the ghetto and the bottomlands, to elect black officials and apply maximum pressure on white politicians. The possibilities are virtually endless.

If honest compromise is possible, the Establishment must remain rigid in defense of its

academic integrity, but it must also allow enormous flexibility to avoid smothering promising innovations. It must remember that a university which buries its problems in the name of tranquillity has already abandoned its place in a free society. Black militants must realize that the failure of black studies might mean a return to the silent racism of college life as it was a decade ago. Compromise will undoubtedly demand twice the wisdom of Solomon and three times the patience of Job, but it must be achieved. The alternatives are frightening.

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## RACIAL EQUALITY AND THE LAW

(Continued from page 280)

as did Montgomery, Alabama, in 1959. But whatever the response of the governmental unit involved, the clamor of black people for the right to use whatever facilities were open to other citizens became increasingly insistent and—as the number of lawsuits that were filed during this period attests—there was considerable resistance to overcome.

### BEGINNING OF "THE MOVEMENT"

A major task still remained. *Brown* and the cases following it were decided on the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment proscribed discriminatory treatment that could fairly be said to be the action of the state. However, given the American economic system, the majority of facilities held out to public use are privately owned. The remedy for continuing racial exclusion from these facilities was a combination of direct protest action and legal action. This combined effort which came to be known as "the movement" marked the major legal battleground of the period from *Brown* into the early 1960's.

With the change in the climate of law created by *Brown*, the seeds for the direct action protest movement were planted. As long as *Plessy* remained the law, it was difficult for these kinds of protest to occur. But with *Brown* on the books, the protest movement grew in confidence; the law could now

be used to vindicate the claim to racial equality. Thus it was no accident—because of the nexus between law and social attitudes—that prominent leaders such as King emerged on the American scene, and civil rights groups other than the NAACP and the Urban League began to proliferate. King founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an association of black Southern ministers. He was instrumental in organizing the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which grew out of the Nashville student movement. As previously indicated, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was revived with its sponsoring of the freedom rides in 1961.

These groups soon began to occupy the direct action field. Because the state action concept was inapplicable to privately owned facilities open to the public, protests in the form of sit-ins, marches and other demonstrations were necessary to establish the right of black people to use all facilities open to the public generally, without racial discrimination. Because of the judicial decisions, increasing in number, which were slowly leveling the barriers to the open society, protest action became increasingly more effective. The "movement" was able to mount successful assaults on the total segregation practices of many cities throughout the country.

But the protest movement created new legal problems. The ingenuity of lawyers in protecting the right to protest was tested. Lawyers, however, proved fit for the task. In a series of cases beginning in 1960, lawyers from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund were able to convince the Supreme Court that the arrests of persons taking part in sit-in demonstrations were illegal. And these cases prior to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act served in part as the legal justification for that legislation, which guaranteed to blacks access to privately owned facilities open to the public. Legal decisions arising from such major battlegrounds of the civil rights movement of the early 1960's as Albany, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama, helped to establish the principles that have been used throughout this decade in protecting peaceful

civil rights demonstrations and demonstrations of other sorts as well.

Unquestionably, the major outpouring of support for the cause of civil rights under law was the 1963 March on Washington, which occurred soon after the Birmingham demonstrations, and largely in response to them. The process of change initiated by *Brown* and continued through a series of judicial decisions building on that base (which had in turn stimulated protest activity) culminated in the major demonstration in the nation's capital in the summer of 1963. For the first time, many segments of white America joined the black protest movement. The March on Washington was the high water mark of a concept of black and white brotherhood which had been fostered by the development in law of the idea of racial equality.

## POLITICAL STRATEGIES OF THE RECONSTRUCTION

(Continued from page 268)

issippi, analyzing the extent to which blacks may take advantage of their constitutional rights. And seeing basic rights such as voting and the use of public accommodations denied blacks by police officials, he is led to believe that some degradations will only fall by "hammer blows."<sup>15</sup> One of the hammer blows is the force of the black revolution and the other is the imposition of the force of the national government. In this sense, the solutions which are now posited to the problem of full citizenship for blacks have not changed significantly since the days of the Reconstruction; it is still necessary to marshal the kind of power which will force change.

Also, there is still insufficient attention given to the fact that the black community, in order to survive, must resolve the issues of Black Reconstruction. Because blacks did not have the power to resolve these issues in times past, the issues remain today and will remain until such time as the black community organizes itself to deal with them.

<sup>15</sup> "The Limits of Non-Violence," in *Black Protest*, Joanne Grant, ed. (New York: Fawcett World, 1968).

## BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from page 296)

York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. 334 pages and chronology, \$8.50.)

Using published and unpublished reports, legal papers, letters, pamphlets, memoranda, speeches, articles and pertinent books, the editors have compiled a running history of an important battle over community control of the schools.

Local demand for black control over personnel touched off the long New York City strike in the fall of 1968 by the United Federation of Teachers. In this book, the contending sides voice their demands and fears, bringing home to the reader the enormous complexity inherent in attempts to upgrade our urban school systems.

This book is essential reading.

NEGRO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT: 1850-1920. EDITED BY HOWARD BROTZ. (New York: Basic Books, 1969. 576 pages and index, \$4.95.)

Subtitled "representative texts," this is a source book of interest and utility for those concerned with Black Studies programs. The offerings have the added value of freshness, since several of the texts are not well known to the non-specialist.

WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO—1550-1812. BY WINTHROP D. JORDAN. (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1969. Preface, 582 pages, notes and index, \$2.95.)

Professor Jordan has written a calm, documented and valuable contribution to an understanding of black-white problems. The earliest settlers of America brought with them from Europe firmly held concepts of white superiority and the unquestioned rightness of slavery. Those who argued for the abolition of slavery argued from sympathy and with considerable condescension. In addition to his splendid text, Jordan has included a most useful essay on primary sources and an unusually good index.

## CURRENT DOCUMENTS

*(Continued from page 298)*

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal education opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, *supra*, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, *supra*, the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of the child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental devel-

opment of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate education facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term. The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as *amici curiae* upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.

*It is so ordered.*

# School Desegregation Policy, 1969

*On July 3, 1969, U.S. Attorney General John N. Mitchell and U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert H. Finch issued a joint statement on the policies to be followed by the Nixon administration in pursuance of school desegregation. Excerpts from the statement follow:*

## I. Introduction

This Administration is unequivocally committed to the goal of finally ending racial discrimination in schools, steadily and speedily, in accordance with the law of the land. The new procedures set forth in this statement are designed to achieve that goal in a way that will improve, rather than disrupt, the education of the children concerned.

The time has come to face the facts involved in solving this difficult problem and to strip away the confusion which has too often characterized discussion of this issue. Setting, breaking and resetting unrealistic "deadlines" may give the appearance of great Federal activity, but in too many cases it has actually impeded progress.

This Administration does not intend to continue those old procedures that make satisfying headlines in some areas but often hamper progress toward equal, desegregated education.

Our aim is to educate, not to punish; to stimulate real progress, not to strike a pose; to induce compliance rather than compel submission. In the final analysis Congress has enacted the law and buttressed the Constitution, the courts have interpreted the law and the Constitution. This Administration will enforce the law and carry out the mandate of the Constitution.

A great deal of confusion surrounds the "guidelines." The essential problem, however, centers not on the guidelines themselves but on how and when individual school districts are to be brought into compliance with the law.

The "guidelines" are administrative regulations promulgated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, as an administrative interpretation, not a court interpretation, of the law. Frequently, the policies of the Department of Justice, which is involved in lawsuits, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which is involved in voluntary compliance, have been at variance.

Thus, we are jointly announcing new, coordinated procedures, not new "guidelines."

In arriving at our decision, we have for five months analyzed the complex legacy that this Administration inherited from its predecessor and have concluded that such a coordinated approach is necessary.

## II. The Law

Fifteen years have passed since the Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, declared that racially segregated public schools are inherently unequal, and that officially imposed segregation is in violation of the Constitution. Fourteen years have passed since the Court, in its second *Brown* decision, recognized the tenacious and deep-rooted nature of the problems that would have to be overcome, but nevertheless ordered that school authorities should proceed toward full compliance "with all deliberate speed."

Progress toward compliance has been orderly and uneventful in some areas, and marked by bitterness and turmoil in others. Efforts to achieve compliance have been a process of trial and error, occasionally accompanied by unnecessary friction, and sometimes resulting in a temporary—but for those affected, irremediable—sacrifice in the quality of education.

Some friction is inevitable. Some disruption of education is inescapable. Our aim is to achieve full compliance with the law in a manner that provides the most progress with the least disruption and friction.

The implications of the *Brown* decisions are national in scope. The problem of racially separate schools is a national problem, and we intend to approach enforcement by coordinated administrative action and court litigation.

## III. Segregation by Official Policy

The most immediate compliance problems are concentrated in those states which, in the past, have maintained racial segregation as official policy. These districts comprise 4,477 school districts located primarily in the 17 Southern and Border states.

Two thousand nine hundred and ninety-four have desegregated voluntarily and completely; 333 are in the process of completing desegregation plans; 234 have made an agreement with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to desegregate at the opening of the 1969–70 school year; under exemption policies established by the previous Administration, 96 have made such an agreement for the opening of the 1970–71 school year.



As a result of action by the Department of Justice or private litigants, 369 districts are under court orders to desegregate. In many of these cases the courts have ordered the districts to seek the assistance of professional educators in H.E.W.'s Office of Education pursuant to Title IV.

A total of 121 school districts have been completely cut off from all Federal funds because they have refused to desegregate or even negotiate. There are 263 school districts which face the prospect, during the coming year, of a fund cutoff by H.E.W. or a lawsuit by the Department of Justice.

These remaining districts represent a steadily shrinking core of resistance. In most Southern and Border school districts, our citizens have conscientiously confronted the problems of desegregation, and have come into voluntary compliance through the efforts of those who recognize their responsibilities under the law.

#### IV. Segregation in Fact

Almost 50 per cent of all our public elementary and secondary students attend schools which are concentrated in the industrial metropolitan areas of the three Middle Atlantic states, the five Northern Midwestern states and the three Pacific Coast states.

Racial discrimination is prevalent in our industrial metropolitan areas. In terms of national impact, the educational situation in the North, the Midwest and the West requires immediate and massive attention.

Segregation and discrimination in areas outside the South are generally de facto problems stemming from housing patterns and denial of adequate funds and attention to ghetto schools. But the result is just as unsatisfactory as the results of the de jure segregation.

We will start a substantial program in those districts where school discrimination exists because of racial patterns in housing. This Administration will insist on nondiscrimination, the desegregation of faculties and school activities, and the equalization of expenditures to insure equal educational opportunity.

#### V. New Procedures

In last year's landmark *Green* case, the Supreme Court noted: "There is no universal answer to the complex problems of desegregation; there is obviously no one plan that will do the job in every case. The matter must be assessed in light of the circumstances present and the options available in each instance." As recently as this past May, in *Montgomery v. Carr*, the Court also noted that "in this field the way must always be left open for experimentation."

Accordingly, it is not our purpose here to lay down a single arbitrary date by which the desegre-

gation process should be completed in all districts, or to lay down a single, arbitrary system by which it should be achieved.

A policy requiring all school districts, regardless of the difficulties they face, to complete desegregation by the same terminal date is too rigid to be either workable or equitable. This is reflected in the history of the "guidelines."

After passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, an H.E.W. policy statement first interpreted the act to require affirmative steps to end racial discrimination in all districts within one year of the act's effective date. When this deadline was not achieved, a new deadline was set for 1967. When this in turn was not met, the deadline was moved to the 1968 school year, or at the latest 1969. This, too, was later modified, administratively, to provide a 1970 deadline for districts with a majority Negro population, or for those in which new construction necessary for desegregation was scheduled for early completion.

Our policy in this area will be as defined in the latest Supreme Court and circuit court decisions: that school districts not now in compliance are required to complete the process of desegregation "at the earliest practicable date"; that "the time for mere 'deliberate speed' has run out"; and, in the words of *Green*, that "the burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now."

In order to be acceptable, such a plan must ensure complete compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the constitutional mandate.

In general, such a plan must provide for full compliance now—that is, the "terminal date" must be the 1969–1970 school year. In some districts there may be sound reasons for some limited delay. In considering whether and how much additional time is justified, we will take into account only bona fide educational and administrative problems. Examples of such problems would be serious shortages of necessary physical facilities, financial resources or faculty. Additional time will be allowed only where those requesting it sustain the heavy factual burden of proving that compliance with the 1969–1970 time schedule cannot be achieved; where additional time is allowed, it will be the minimum shown to be necessary.

In accordance with recent decisions which place strict limitations on "freedom of choice," if "freedom of choice" is used in the plan, the school district must demonstrate, on the basis of its record, that this is not a subterfuge for maintaining a dual system, but rather that the plan as a whole genuinely promises to achieve a complete end to racial discrimination at the earliest practicable date. Otherwise, the use of "freedom of choice" in such a plan is not acceptable.

For local and Federal authorities alike, school desegregation poses both educational and law enforcement problems. To the extent practicable, on the Federal level the law enforcement aspects will be handled by the Department of Justice in judicial proceedings affording due process of law, and the educational aspects will be administered by H.E.W. Because they are so closely interwoven, these aspects cannot be entirely separated. We intend to use the administrative machinery of H.E.W. in tandem with the stepped-up enforcement activities of Justice, and to draw on H.E.W. for more assistance by professional educators as provided for under Title IV of the 1964 act. This procedure has these principal aims:

¶To minimize the number of cases in which it becomes necessary to employ the particular remedy of a cutoff of Federal funds, recognizing that the burden of this cutoff falls nearly always on those the act was intended to help, the children of the poor and the black.

¶To ensure, to the greatest extent possible, that educational quality is maintained while desegregation is achieved and bureaucratic disruption of the education process is avoided.

The Division of Equal Educational Opportunities in the Office of Education has already shown that its program of advice and assistance to local school districts can be most helpful in solving the educational problems of the desegregation process. We intend to expand our cooperation with local districts to make certain that the desegregation plans devised are educationally sound, as well as legally adequate.

We are convinced that desegregation will be best achieved in some cases through a selective infusion of Federal funds for such needs as school construction, teacher subsidies and remedial education. H.E.W. is launching a study of the needs, the costs, and the ways the Federal Government can most appropriately share the burden of a system of financial aids and incentives designed to help secure full and prompt compliance. When this study is completed, we intend to recommend the necessary legislation.

We are committed to ending racial discrimination in the nation's schools, carrying out the mandate of the Constitution and the Congress.

We are committed to providing increased assistance by professional educators, and to encouraging greater involvement . . . in each community.

We are committed to maintaining quality public education, recognizing that if desegregated schools fail to educate, they fail in their primary purpose.

We are determined that the law of the land will be upheld; and that the Federal role in upholding that law, and in providing equal and constantly improving educational opportunities for all, will be firmly exercised with an even hand.

## BLACK MEN BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

*(Continued from page 262)*

service when allowed. They fought in all of America's wars. They served with recorded distinction in the American Revolution (which opened with the shooting of black Crispus Attucks by British soldiers), the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. Such tough-minded generals as Andrew Jackson gave them praise and awarded them honors. The rule was to keep blacks in segregated units and prohibit their promotion into the commissioned ranks.

A major reason for denying Negroes military privileges was the fear which possessed white Americans. The white fear of black insurrection continued from the time of the burning of Jamestown in 1527 down to and following the Civil War. The "closed society" of race prejudice and slavery never led black men to lose the human desire for freedom from oppression. Among the early Negro "freedom fighters" were Cato, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner. David Walker's famous "Appeal" to Negroes to use violence in order to gain their freedom antedated by 130 years current black militant appeals to "get a gun." Violence was a part of the human spirit, it appeared, for blacks and whites alike.

While some black and white men resorted to insurrection, other black and white men sought by appeal and persuasion to end American slavery. Anti-slavery societies and abolitionists listed among their numbers and leaders not only whites but blacks. Among the most famous black abolitionists were Frederick Douglass, Christopher Rush, Theodore S. Wright, Charles L. Remond, Henry Highland Garnett, Sojourner Truth and Lunsford Lane. Douglass was by far the most outstanding. Escaping from slavery in Maryland, he became an eloquent orator and abolitionist before the Civil War and continued as a leader in the fight against race prejudice for the 30 years following. Few men have been his equal in speech or writing.

Significant "revisionist" efforts to clear the historical record have been made by such black scholars as Carter G. Woodson, W. E. B. Du Bois, A. A. Taylor, Benjamin Quarles, Charles Wesley, Lorenzo Greene, John Hope Franklin, and many others who worked through their own historical association and often published books and wrote articles in the famed *Journal of Negro History* for 50 years before the recent flowering of interest in black history across the nation. Their works were and are too often ignored. Among the early white scholars who sought to make the necessary revisions were Franz Boas, William E. Channing, Herbert Aptheker and Dwight L. Dumond. Younger white and black scholars are now contributing significant revisionist monographic and interpretive works. The work should continue to fill in the great gaps and correct the false interpretations. On the basis of the evidence already in, it is clear that the almost five-century-old institutional effort to dehumanize Africans and their descendants has not succeeded. Perhaps both white and black alike should rejoice because of this failure.

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## THE BLACK ROLE IN URBAN POLITICS

*(Continued from page 289)*

alternatives to viable political participation for blacks are bleak indeed. With the removal of traditionally accepted avenues of progress, new avenues will be carved out of society by a righteous, justified and impatient black minority. Then the social acceleration of black action, and white suppression in reaction, will set in with a vengeance that can only vitiate the promise of democracy.

The dialogues around such solutions as Uni-Government, two-tiered governments, cooperative buying, suburban/city trade-offs, complete consolidation and, finally, abdication of responsibility to another, larger governing unit—these dialogues are too often exercises in futility. A vital element is most often left out of such discussions.

Whither black America in these experimental machinations?

The importance of black participation in politics, black leadership in the democratic processes, and the contribution blacks can make to urban solutions all become academic if black hopes are cut off at the political pass by tactical devices. This is true whether the denial to blacks is calculated—as in disannexation—or accidental, even incidental, as in Metro Government.

The problems raised by Metro Government partisans are real and should be met. The problems created by Metro Government plans in regard to black power are also real, and must be anticipated. The dilemma offered by these two considerations may be more apparent than real.

Some of the answer may lie in our political parties, either those that exist now, or those that are destined to flourish if the two major parties do not strike postures of more courage and constancy than they have found so far.

The traditional coalitions that have provided the glue for Democrats and Republicans alike are moribund. The opportunism inherent in attempts to build a "party for everyone" is failing. Paucity of principle needs to be supplanted by coalitions of conscience: when and if that happens, black communities can move closer to political parity.

But there can be no waiting for that distant day. The isolated salients established by black political awareness must be protected now. At the same time, the call for intergovernmental cooperation must be heeded, lest the problems it would confront grow so monumental as to defy solution. Black leaders must join efforts to answer those difficulties now, if only for the preservation of the minor black gains made so far. If they do not join in seeking honest answers while protecting emerging black power, supra-governments will be formed around them to answer those problems—and will inevitably diffuse and dilute the little black equity that does prevail. With or without black contributions, intergovernmental cooperative ventures will be developed. They must not

be developed in a closet populated by white planners who have only rarely been sensitive to black destiny.

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## THE NEGRO IN AMERICA: 1901 TO 1956

(Continued from page 274)

Muslim movement in the early 1930's.

### THE DEPRESSION YEARS

Congressman George White's prophecy came true in 1928 when the concentration of blacks in urban ghettos led to the election of another Negro Congressman, Republican Oscar De Priest of Chicago, the first from a Northern state. The next year the stock market crashed and the depression hit blacks severely. By 1932, 39 per cent of whites and 56 per cent of blacks were unemployed. With local relief resources overwhelmed, blacks desperately needed federal aid. In the 1932 election, a majority of blacks, as was traditional, voted for the Republican candidate, Herbert Hoover. But when the Democratic victor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, instituted a New Deal offering the federal relief blacks needed, they began to desert the G.O.P.

In 1934, De Priest ran for a fourth term but lost to Arthur Mitchell, the first black Democrat in Congress. In 1936, most blacks voted for Franklin Roosevelt and remained Democrats ever after. F.D.R.'s New Deal aided blacks by encouraging the C.I.O. industrial unions which enrolled and helped upgrade blacks, unlike the exclusionist A.F.L. craft unions. Roosevelt also brought blacks like William Hastie, Ralph Bunche, Robert C. Weaver and Mary McLeod Bethune into significant advisory and administrative posts. But he did not vigorously push a civil rights program, fearful of alienating the powerful Southern Democratic congressional chairmen who could kill his programs.

In 1940, on the eve of his third term election bid, Roosevelt promoted Benjamin O.

Davis to brigadier general, the first such black appointment. In January, 1941, Negro labor unionist A. Philip Randolph proposed a March on Washington to protest discrimination in defense industries on the eve of United States entry into World War II. On June 25, 1941, to forestall this march, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 barring "discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government," and soon thereafter established a Fair Employment Practices Committee (F.E.P.C.) to enforce anti-discrimination clauses in defense contracts.<sup>16</sup> During World War II an even greater migration to job opportunities in the North took place, and nearly 900,000 blacks served in the armed forces.

Having defeated the racist Nazi totalitarianism, Americans were less tolerant of racial prejudice at home after the war ended in 1945. Breakthroughs came in the postwar world with such pathbreakers into lily-white areas as Jackie Robinson in professional baseball, Althea Gibson in tennis, and Camilla Williams and Marian Anderson in opera. Meanwhile, the NAACP, led brilliantly by two Negroes—Walter White as Executive Secretary (1931–1955) and Thurgood Marshall as Chief Counsel (1938–1961)—fought a series of legal battles for civil rights. They protested particularly against the kind of inequity which allowed the Southern states in 1930 to spend \$44.31 per white pupil but only \$12.57 per black pupil, while the national average was \$87.22 per pupil. The NAACP drive for civil rights culminated in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (347 U.S. 483) 1954, which overturned the separate but equal doctrine. Late in 1955, the civil rights movement was to enter a new phase, when Martin Luther King, Jr., led blacks in a year-long bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, cradle of the Confederacy. Bus segregation in Montgomery was ended in 1956 by a court ruling.

Thus, from 1901 to 1956, black Americans had risen like the Phoenix from the ashes. They had come a long way from the 1901 nadir of disfranchisement and segregation. But much remained to be done.

<sup>16</sup> Louis Ruchames, *Race, Jobs and Politics: The Story of FEPC* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 17–22.

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# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

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*A CURRENT HISTORY chronology covering the most important events of September, 1969, to provide a day-by-day summary of world affairs.*

## INTERNATIONAL

### European Economic Community (Common Market)

Sept. 9—At the semiannual meeting of the Common Market members, spokesmen for France and West Germany agree to complete agricultural adjustments before considering the admission of Great Britain to membership.

### Latin America

Sept. 28—Finance Ministers and central bank governors of 18 Latin American nations meeting in the Dominican Republic agree to expand credit cooperatively by easing the flow of funds when shortages arise in individual countries. Latin American travelers' checks will be issued to reduce dependence on scarce hard currencies. Improvement of bank clearance of trade payments among nations is also planned.

Sept. 29—A proposal for a new canal route to replace the Panama Canal is made public by Colombia and Panama. This is the first route of the many proposed which would traverse more than one country.

### Middle East Crisis

(See also *Intl., United Nations*)

Sept. 1—Michael Dennis William Rohan, the Australian farmer suspected of setting the fire in the Al Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem, is indicted by the Attorney General of Israel.

Leaders of 4 Arab countries meet in Cairo to discuss the continuing conflict with Israel. President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the U.A.R., King Hussein of Jordan, President Nureddin al-Attassi of Syria and Deputy Premier Saleh Mehdi Ammash of

Iraq are attempting to coordinate their military plans.

Sept. 8—Israeli buildings in West Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands are bombed by teen-age Arab guerrillas.

Sept. 9—In a warning gesture to the Arab countries, Israeli armored forces cross the Gulf of Suez and conduct a 10-hour assault on U.A.R. coastal positions.

Sept. 16—Military targets along the Gulf of Suez are hit by Israeli jets.

Sept. 19—A worship service is attended by some 2,000 Muslims at the Al Aksa Mosque.

Sept. 20—New houses are being built for Arabs in occupied Jerusalem, according to Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek.

Sept. 21—A summit Islamic conference opens. Heads of State attending include King Hassan of Morocco, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran, King Hussein of Jordan, Shaikh Sabah as-Salim as-Sabah of Kuwait, President Mohamad A.Y. Khan of Pakistan, President Abdel Rashid Schermarke of Somalia, President Houari Boumédiène of Algeria, President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania, President Qadi Abderrahman al Iryani of Yemen, Premier Nour Ahmed Entemadi of Afghanistan and Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia. The meeting is held in Rabat, Morocco, to discuss the fire in the Al Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem.

Sept. 22—An unofficial pact between Israel and Jordan permits repair work to begin on the East Ghor Canal. The Israeli Foreign Ministry agrees to permit temporary repairs if the cease-fire agreement in the area is observed by Jordan. Within 4 hours of completion of the first stages of



repair, Arab mortar fire from Jordan hits 3 Israeli settlements.

U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers meets with U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to discuss the Middle East crisis.

Israeli jet raids continue along the Suez Canal in an attempt to deter U.A.R. artillery shelling from the Egyptian side of the waterway.

Palestinian guerrilla leader Yasir Arafat reports guerrilla attacks against Israelis attempting to repair an irrigation dam in the Jordan Valley. The dam was blown up by guerrillas on September 11.

Sept. 24—Pakistan's refusal to attend the same meeting with the Indian delegation causes the Conference of Islamic Nations to advise the Indian delegate not to attend the meeting. Further dissension upsets the conference, when Turkish and Iranian delegates object to the broadened scope of the agenda.

An Israeli-appointed commission of inquiry into the Al Aksa Mosque fire finds that the Muslim guards were negligent. The commission finds that Arab mobs deliberately interfered with fire-fighting efforts of Israeli, Muslim and Christian firemen.

Sept. 27—An attack on the "wild and hare-brained" actions of the extremist guerrillas is voiced by King Hassan II of Morocco.

Hassan says these attacks harm the Arab cause.

## North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

(See Canada)

## United Nations

Sept. 12—Intensification of peace-making efforts in the Middle East is urged on Great Britain, France, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. by U.N. Secretary General U Thant.

Sept. 15—At a news conference on the eve of the opening of the United Nations Assembly sessions, Secretary General U Thant asks the admission of Communist China to the disarmament talks to end "the mad momentum of the arms race."

Sept. 16—The 24th General Assembly opens and elects Miss Angie E. Brooks of Liberia as the Assembly President.

Sept. 17—In a meeting with newsmen at the U.N., Canadian Foreign Minister Mitchell Sharp says he believes Communist China now wants to join the United Nations.

Sept. 19—In an address to the General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko rebuffs the suggestion of a big-power arms curb in the Middle East. The suggestion was advanced by U.S. President Richard Nixon in his Assembly speech

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code). 1. Date of filing: October 1, 1969. 2. Title of publication: CURRENT HISTORY. 3. Frequency of issue: Monthly. 4. Location of known office of publication (Street, city, county, state, zip code): 1822 Ludlow St., Phila., Pa. 19103. 5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers (not printers): 1822 Ludlow St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103. 6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher, Daniel G. Redmond, Jr., 1642 Monk Rd., Gladwyne, Pa. 19035; Editor, Carol L. Thompson, 12 Old Boston Rd., Wilton, Conn. 06897; Managing editor, none. 7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.): Current History, Inc., 1822 Ludlow St., Phila., Pa.; Daniel G. Redmond, Jr., 1642 Monk Rd., Gladwyne, Pa.; Shelby Cullom Davis, 116 John St., New York, N. Y. 8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state): Daniel G. Redmond, Jr., 1642 Monk Rd., Gladwyne, Pa. 9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates (Section 132.122 Postal Manual): Does not apply. 10. Extent and nature of circulation. A) Total no. copies printed (net press run): 35,917 (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); 36,000 (single issue nearest to filing date). B) Paid circulation—1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: none (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); none (single issue nearest to filing date). 2. Mail subscriptions: 33,030 (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); 31,200 (single issue nearest to filing date). C) Total paid circulation: 33,030 (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); 31,200 (single issue nearest to filing date). D) Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means: 550 (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); 200 (single issue nearest to filing date). E) Total distribution (sum of C and D): 33,580 (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); 31,400 (single issue nearest to filing date). F) Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,337 (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); 4,600 (single issue nearest to filing date). G) Total (sum of E and F—should equal net press run shown in A): 35,917 (average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months); 36,000 (single issue nearest to filing date). I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

D. G. REDMOND, JR., Publisher

September 18. (See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Sept. 20—The Middle East crisis will be debated by the full session of the 24th General Assembly without prior committee action, according to a vote in the Assembly.

## War in Vietnam

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy, Military*)

Sept. 1—Military responsibility for defense of the Mekong Delta is turned over to South Vietnamese troops as the last U.S. troops are shifted to other bases.

Sept. 4—A 3-day truce in observance of the death of North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh is declared by Vietcong troops.

Sept. 9—U.S. troops cut back their attacks during the Vietcong truce, but South Vietnamese forces increase their offensive operations.

Sept. 10—Hostilities between U.S. and Vietcong forces rise again following the end of the 72-hour truce.

Sept. 14—An increase in North Vietnamese infiltration of the Mekong Delta is noted by U.S. military authorities following the transfer of U.S. forces from the region.

Sept. 16—U.S. President Richard Nixon announces the withdrawal of 35,000 more U.S. troops from South Vietnam. On June 8, President Nixon ordered 25,000 withdrawn.

Sept. 17—Seven civilians are killed and 17 are wounded by a U.S. helicopter gunship in South Vietnam. The U.S. forces were seeking a Vietcong unit in the area when the accident occurred.

Sept. 18—North Vietnamese negotiators in Paris call the U.S. troop withdrawal "a dribble."

Sept. 27—At a news conference, South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu says South Vietnam cannot take over all the fighting from the U.S. by the end of 1970. He says he will present demands to U.S. President Richard Nixon for the equipment and funds needed for the South Vietnamese army if it is to assume a major role in the fighting.

## ARGENTINA

Sept. 13—Defying a government threat to draft strikers into the armed services, railway workers stay away from their jobs.

Sept. 15—14,000 striking railway workers are placed under military law. An additional 23,000 workers in automotive plants strike.

Sept. 16—Defying orders drafting them into the army, 50,000 railway workers go out on strike. The cities of Rosario and Cordoba are paralyzed.

Sept. 18—Following 2 days of rioting, the army gains control of the city of Rosario. Sabotage against the railroad includes the derailment of trains, bombings and armed attacks.

Sept. 27—Leaders call off a scheduled general strike following a meeting with President Juan Carlos Onganía.

## BOLIVIA

Sept. 26—The government of President Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas is overthrown in a bloodless coup. General Alfredo Ovando Candia, commander of the armed forces, becomes the new President. The new government pledges to secure national sovereignty over the sources of production, and to protect heavy industry and workers' rights. Land reform is to be intensified.

## BOTSWANA

Sept. 4—According to an announcement by President Seretse Khama, the 31-member Parliament is being dissolved and a new election will be called for October 18.

## BRAZIL

Sept. 4—Four men kidnap U.S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick near the embassy in Rio de Janeiro. The kidnappers leave a note demanding the release of 15 Brazilian political prisoners. Failure to comply with their demand, they say, will result in the death of Elbrick.

Sept. 6—Foreign Minister José Magalhães announces that the Brazilian government is acceding to the kidnappers' demands and is flying the political prisoners to Mexico.

- Sept. 7—The kidnappers release Elbrick unharmed after the release of the 15 prisoners.
- Sept. 9—The ruling military triumvirate announces the death penalty for acts of subversion or terrorism.
- Sept. 12—The government arrests two suspects for the kidnapping of Ambassador Elbrick.
- Sept. 18—New courts are established by the ruling military junta to deal with guerrillas in the cities.

## CANADA

- Sept. 19—Leo Cadieux, Minister of Defense, announces that Canada's NATO force in Europe will be halved. 4,800 of the present 9,800 men will be withdrawn and all nuclear weapons will be returned to Canada.

## CHILE

- Sept. 5—The Central Bank announces the devaluation of the Chilean escudo from 9.51 to the dollar (U.S.) to 9.62.

## CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF (Communist)

(See also U.S.S.R.)

- Sept. 11—Premier Chou En-lai and Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin meet briefly at the Peking airport. Kosygin, returning from the funeral of North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh, reportedly sought the meeting to discuss Sino-Soviet conflicts.
- Sept. 12—A report from the Indian Foreign Ministry says that China has been moving nuclear plants to northern Tibet farther from the Soviet border.
- Sept. 14—An editorial in *Jenmin Jih Pao*, the official Communist party newspaper, praises the government's steel production drive.
- Sept. 16—A report in the Japanese newspaper, *Ashai Shimbun*, says that China is believed to have developed 1,250-mile range ballistic missiles and is preparing to test an I.C.B.M. before the end of 1970.
- Sept. 19—*Hsinhua*, the official press agency,

reports that new oil discoveries have made China self-sufficient in oil.

- Sept. 30—At a dinner in Peking on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En-lai says China's nuclear arms are for defensive purposes only.

## CHINA, REPUBLIC OF (Nationalist)

- Sept. 6—*The New York Times* reports that Po Yang, former novelist and editor, has received a 12-year prison sentence for allegedly being a Communist agent in 1949. Po Yang was arrested in March, 1968, and held incommunicado for 6 months. It is thought that the government is angry because he translated a "Popeye" cartoon interpreted by the government as a satire on President Chiang Kai-shek.
- Sept. 21—A 32-year-old doctor, Chen Chung-tung, who had been doing cancer research in Japan, is convicted by the military tribunal of the Taiwan Garrison Compound and sentenced to 15 years in prison for "being a leader of the Taiwan independence movement."

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Sept. 3—Former party leader Alexander Dubcek is asked by a member of the Communist party presidium to confess past "mistakes" and to engage in self-criticism.
- Sept. 5—The disciplinary committee of the Communist party says that "opportunists will be called to account." Zdenek Braun and Vladimir Kolnistr are expelled from the Control and Audit Commission for "opportunist" activities. Party actions are aimed at those who continue to resist the pro-Soviet stand of the Czechoslovak party.
- Sept. 8—The Central Committee of the Communist party removes the leadership of the liberal Czechoslovak Union of Journalists and names a 30-member body to supervise the actions of the union.
- Sept. 10—A pro-Soviet Czechoslovak Communist, Drahomir Kolder, castigates Premier Oldrich Cernik for his failure to take "tough action" against the signers of the

"2,000 words," an appeal for greater liberalization.

Sept. 18—*Rude Pravo*, the Communist party newspaper, warns that the state of the economy is "very serious."

Sept. 27—The resignation of the Czechoslovak Cabinet is announced. Premier Oldrich Cernik is reconfirmed in his post and is asked to form a new Cabinet.

Sept. 28—At a major meeting of the Czechoslovak Communist party, Alexander Dubcek is deposed from the ruling Presidium and from his chairmanship of the Federal Assembly. Twenty-nine progressives are removed from the Central Committee.

## FRANCE

Sept. 3—In its continuing effort to save the franc, the government makes sharp cuts in public spending, promises a balanced budget in 1970 and increases interest rates on savings deposits from 3.5 per cent to 5 per cent.

Sept. 11—Train crews launch a strike to demand a reduction in working hours.

Sept. 13—The General Confederation of Labor announces it will not cooperate with the government's economic austerity program.

Sept. 16—In a policy-making speech to the National Assembly, Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas terms French society "archaic" and calls for sweeping social and economic reforms.

Sept. 17—President Georges Pompidou warns the unions that he will defend law and order in the face of labor unrest and work stoppages.

## GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)

Sept. 20—Angry mobs break up an election campaign speech by Adolf von Thadden, leader of the right-wing National Democratic party. Federal elections will be held on September 28.

Sept. 24—The West German money markets are ordered closed until after the election to prevent speculation against the mark.

Sept. 26—Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger and Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, the leading candidates for Chancellor in the elections of September 28, pledge that they will not change the value of the mark. The statements represent an attempt to discourage speculation.

Sept. 29—Returns from yesterday's elections show Chancellor Kiesinger's Christian Democratic party a close winner with 46.1 per cent of the vote. Willy Brandt's Social Democratic party is second with 42.7 per cent. The right-wing National Democratic party headed by Adolf von Thadden fails to win the 5 per cent needed to place a party member in the *Bundestag*.

Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, whose Social Democratic party won 42.7 per cent of the national vote, says he will seek the chancellorship by forming a coalition with the small Free Democratic party. Such a coalition would hold more votes than the Christian Democrats, who won 46.1 per cent of the votes.

The government orders the Central Bank to permit the mark to rise to its free market value. This is a preliminary step to revaluing the mark to the level it finds in international trading, according to *The New York Times*.

## GHANA

Sept. 3—The newly-elected Premier, Kofi A. Busia, is formally inducted. The ceremony celebrates the return to constitutional rule, suspended in 1966.

Sept. 6—The National Assembly elects Nii Amaa Ollennu, a former Supreme Court Justice, to the post of Speaker of the Assembly.

## INDONESIA

Sept. 24—Another rescheduling of Indonesia's foreign debt is asked by Foreign Minister Adam Malik. The large debts inherited from the Sukarno regime are scheduled for repayment too rapidly for the stability of the country, according to Malik.

## ISRAEL

(See *Intl, Middle East; U.S. Foreign Policy*)

## JAPAN

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

## JORDAN

(See *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

## KENYA

Sept. 10—Nasashon Isaac Njenga Njoroge, a Kikuyu tribesman, is found guilty of the July 5 slaying of Tom Mboya, the Minister of Economic Development.

## KOREA, REPUBLIC OF (South)

Sept. 14—The Democratic Republican party meets secretly in an annex of the National Assembly building and votes 122 to 0 to change the constitution to permit President Chung Hee Park to run for a third term. The opposition New Democratic party has been occupying the Speaker's rostrum in the Assembly chamber to prevent a vote on the issue.

## LAOS

Sept. 17—*The New York Times* reports that Laotian government troops, with U.S. aid in planning and bombing, have captured 2 rebel areas in the Plaine des Jarres region from pro-Communist forces. Thai forces are reported to have taken part in the attacks.

Sept. 22—A report to *The New York Times* says that bombing of Pathet Lao-held areas in Laos, under way since 1964, was increased in November, 1968, by President Lyndon Johnson after the bombing of North Vietnam ended. The report says that 100 U.S. pilots have been captured after being shot down in Laos.

U.S. government officials repeat that the U.S. has no "combat forces" in Laos. They refuse to define "combat forces." (See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*.)

A denial that foreign troops are fighting in Laos is issued by Premier Souvanna Phouma.

## LIBYA

Sept. 1—King Idris is overthrown by a revolutionary council. His son, Crown Prince Hassan al-Rida, announces his support of the revolution.

Sept. 2—The revolutionary council says it will honor existing agreements with foreign oil companies.

Sept. 4—The revolutionary council orders troops into Benghazi to prevent possible moves in support of deposed King Idris.

Sept. 8—Mahmoud Soliman al-Maghreby, who was a leader in the labor union movement before his imprisonment by the former government, is named Premier of Libya. Among other Cabinet officers appointed is Saleh Massaud Buysir, who has been in exile in Cairo for his opposition to a British-Libyan defense treaty.

## MEXICO

Sept. 1—President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz announces an annual growth rate in the past 12 months of 4 per cent, one of the highest among developing nations; the Mexican economy has increased its production of goods and services by 7.1 per cent. The figures are contained in the President's annual message to the Congress.

Sept. 8—President Diaz Ordaz and U.S. President Richard Nixon preside at ceremonies dedicating the giant Amistad Dam on the U.S.-Mexican border.

## NEW ZEALAND

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

## NIGERIA

Sept. 12—An agreement to permit daytime relief flights to carry food to Biafra is signed by the Nigerian government. The International Red Cross, which supervises the flights, is to be permitted a 3-week trial of the plan by Nigerian officials.

Sept. 14—The Biafran government rejects the agreement between the Red Cross and the Nigerian government on the grounds that Nigeria may use the flights for her own military advantage.



**PERU**

Sept. 3—A government decree ordering mining interests to increase their capital investments or lose their concessions threatens U.S. mining companies.

Sept. 9—Talks are suspended on Peru's expropriation of the International Petroleum Company's property. President Richard Nixon's envoy, John Irwin 2d, returns to the U.S. to report to the State Department.

**PORTUGAL**

Sept. 3—The ban on electoral committees, imposed by the government August 9, is lifted. Opposition parties insist that they should also be accorded freedom of the press and the right of free assembly. Elections are scheduled for October 26.

**RHODESIA**

Sept. 18—Tangwena tribesmen are driven from their ancestral district by Rhodesian troops and police. The government has overruled a High Court order permitting the tribesmen to remain. The district was ceded to whites under the Land Apportionment Act.

**SAUDI ARABIA**

Sept. 8—Discovery of an attempted coup d'état against the government results in the arrest of several hundred air force officers and civil servants.

**SOUTH AFRICA**

Sept. 5—A commission to study the country's security network is appointed by Prime Minister John Vorster. The study is ordered following severe criticism of the new Bureau of State Security, which has been given sweeping police powers.

**THAILAND**

(See also *Laos*)

Sept. 10—Premier Thanom Kittikachorn says that the U.S. and Thailand have reached an agreement on the withdrawal of some U.S. troops from Thailand. Of the 48,000 men in the country, some 3,000 are expected to leave in the initial withdrawal.

Sept. 30—A plan for the withdrawal of 6,000 U.S. troops from Thailand in the next 6 months is announced by U.S. President Nixon and Thai Premier Thanom Kittikachorn. There are currently 49,000 U.S. troops there.

**U.S.S.R.**

(See also *China, People's Republic of*)

Sept. 10—*Tass*, the government news agency, issues a list of 488 deliberate frontier violations by the Chinese between June and mid-August, 1969. The charge is in reply to a Chinese statement accusing the Soviets of 429 violations in the same period.

Sept. 16—*The New York Times* reports that the Soviets declared a ban on anti-Chinese tirades in the press following the meeting of Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai on September 11.

Sept. 18—Soviet government sources report that Chinese border raids have ceased since the September 11 meeting between the 2 Premiers.

**U.A.R.**

(See *Intl, Middle East Crisis*)

**UNITED KINGDOM**

Sept. 11—The Treasury announces a surplus of \$115 million in the international balance of payments account for the first half of 1969. This is the first surplus since 1964.

**UNITED STATES****Agriculture**

Sept. 24—Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin proposes to the House Agriculture Committee that the problems of 400,000 marginal farmers should be turned over to the welfare system and that restraints on production should be eased.

**Civil Rights**

(See also *Military*)

Sept. 1—The Department of Health, Education and Welfare requests the aid of the Justice Department in forcing the desegregation of nine school districts in Georgia. The school districts agreed to plans for

desegregation but at the last minute refused to implement these plans.

Sept. 12—The United States Commission on Civil Rights accuses the administration of a "major retreat" in its new policy on school desegregation.

Sept. 15—Negroes and their white supporters march in downtown Pittsburgh in a continuing effort to obtain skilled jobs in the construction industry.

Sept. 16—Vice President Spiro Agnew outlines the administration's policy toward Southern school desegregation; the goal is to achieve integration without "exacerbating community tensions."

Sept. 21—Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert H. Finch says that his department will continue to encourage the use of busing as a method of achieving racial balance in the schools.

Sept. 22—In Chicago, 4,000 Negroes hold a rally demanding more skilled jobs in the construction industry.

Sept. 23—Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz announces a plan for federally assisted construction in Philadelphia. The plan, which would later be extended to other localities, sets guidelines for the hiring of minorities in six skilled construction crafts in federally assisted projects.

Sept. 26—Mrs. Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., says that talks seeking the aid of President Nixon for a federally aided memorial for King have broken off.

For the third day, more than 2,000 members of the Chicago Building Trades Unions protest federal attempts to open union rolls to more Negroes.

Sept. 29—Jerris Leonard, the chief of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, says that if the Supreme Court were to order immediate integration of all schools, the order could not be enforced.

## Economy

(See also *U.S., Northwest Passage*)

Sept. 2—In the 4th price increase since the beginning of the year, major United States producers of primary copper announce an

increase of 4 cents a pound; the price of copper is now set at a record 52 cents a pound.

Sept. 10—The United States Steel Corporation announces price increases averaging \$8 a ton for certain types of pipe; the company attributes the increases to "cumulative increased costs."

\$900 million is bid in Alaska in a competitive sale of leases on state-owned land in a newly discovered oil field.

Sept. 11—The General Motors Corporation raises the prices on its 1970 cars by 3.9 per cent, an average increase of \$125.

Sept. 16—The Ford Motor Company announces price increases on all of its cars except the Maverick; the average increase will amount to \$125, an average of 3.6 per cent.

Sept. 17—The Treasury offers 8 per cent interest on a 19.5-month note; the rate is the highest Treasury offering since 1859.

Sept. 18—The Chrysler Corporation follows the lead of other automobile manufacturers announcing an increase in the price of new cars by an average of \$107, or 3.5 per cent.

## Foreign Policy

Sept. 3—New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller hands the report of his 20-nation Latin American tour to President Richard Nixon. Governor Rockefeller made four separate trips to Latin America between May 11 and July 7 at the request of the President. It is not expected that the report will be made public.

Negotiations between U.S. Ambassador Leonard Unger and Thai Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman for the gradual withdrawal of American troops from Thailand begin in Bangkok.

Sept. 5—The United States becomes the 12th nation to ratify the Tokyo Convention of 1963; this is the final step necessary to make the treaty effective. The treaty stipulates that signatory nations return hijacked airliners promptly to their owners and that crewmen and passengers of hijacked planes be permitted to resume their journeys without delay.

Sept. 6—The United States formally recognizes the Revolutionary Command Council that has seized power in Libya. It is reported that the U.S. delivery of 50 Phantom F-4 jet fighters to Israel precipitated the decision to recognize the new regime in an effort to assuage Arab militants. (See also *Libya*.)

Sept. 8—The U.S. will provide Turkey with two destroyers in return for Turkey's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's naval force, it is reported in *The New York Times*.

At a meeting with Mexican President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, President Nixon requests the cooperation of Mexico in a drive to prevent the smuggling of narcotics across the border.

Sept. 12—After conferring with Secretary of State William P. Rogers in Washington, Kiichi Aichi, Japanese Foreign Minister, announces that Japan and the U.S. are far from agreement on the issue of Okinawa.

Sept. 16—Keith J. Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand, meets in Washington with President Nixon to discuss U.S. security plans in the Pacific and the Far East and prospects for peace in Vietnam.

Sept. 18—In an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, President Nixon appeals to U.N. members "to use your best efforts" to persuade Hanoi to negotiate to bring an end to the war in Vietnam.

Sept. 19—Senator Stuart Symington (D., Missouri) announces that the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on foreign commitments is investigating the extent of U.S. military involvement in Laos. He charges that the U.S. has been at war in Laos for some time. A State Department spokesman reaffirms that the U.S. has no "combat troops" in Laos. (See also *Laos*.)

At the conclusion of talks between the U.S. and Japan on the textile import problem, U.S. officials state that they "are now expecting a reaction from Japan."

Sept. 21—Reporting to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his trip to South-

east Asia and the Philippines, Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Montana) proposes a reduction of military commitments in Asia and particularly in Laos.

Sept. 25—Golda Meir, Premier of Israel, requests long-range military and economic commitments from the U.S. in a meeting with President Nixon; she also meets with Secretary of State Rogers.

Sept. 27—President Nixon announces that he will delineate his new Latin-American policy on October 31; it is reported that the policy will include some of the recommendations made by Governor Rockefeller in his report of his Latin American tour. The Rockefeller report will be made public after the President's speech.

Sept. 29—Republican Congressional leaders call for a moratorium on criticism of President Nixon's Vietnam policy for 60 days; there has been mounting criticism of the war in recent weeks.

## Government

Sept. 1—Dr. Arthur F. Burns, adviser to President Nixon, declares that an end to the war in Vietnam would release about \$8 billion annually, some of which would be available for domestic programs.

In an address to the National Governors Conference, President Nixon requests the support of the governors for his "new federalism."

Sept. 2—President Nixon announces his intention of nominating A. Sydney Herlong, Jr., to the Security and Exchange Commission; Mr. Herlong is a conservative Democrat who worked on Richard Nixon's Presidential campaign. The President also announces the appointment of Levi Jackson and Elmer Gerald Banks, Jr., as members of the National Selective Service Appeal Board.

President Nixon again proposes that the postal system be converted into a government corporation.

Sept. 3—The Interstate Commerce Commission announces strict new rules on the handling of railroad boxcars in an effort to ease the nationwide freightcar shortage.

Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel announces that the government will investigate and, if necessary, prosecute water polluters.

Sept. 4—In an effort to curtail inflation, President Nixon orders a 75 per cent reduction in new government construction contracts; he also urges state and local governments to cut back on their own construction plans that are jointly financed by federal, state and local governments. Costs in the construction industry have been rising at an annual rate of 12 per cent recently.

The Food and Drug Administration, in its Second Report on Oral Contraceptives, says that "the pill" is safe, but that the risk of death from blood clotting is 4.4 times higher for users of the pill than for nonusers.

The administration offers the Senate Finance Committee a proposed tax bill with fewer and more limited reforms than were outlined in the measure passed by the House last month. The administration's proposal reflects pressure from financial institutions, corporations and charitable institutions, among others.

Sept. 5—Barbara M. Burns is appointed deputy assistant secretary for consumer services in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Sept. 6—Responding to recent criticism, Mrs. Virginia Mae Brown, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, orders all personnel to refuse payment from trade associations and business groups for travel and lodging expenses.

Sept. 7—Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz announces the signing of a \$624,000 contract with Greenleigh Associates, Inc., to experiment in modernizing the United States Employment Service.

Everett McKinley Dirksen, the Republican leader in the Senate, dies at the age of 73.

Sept. 8—Dr. William R. DeCesare of the National Institutes of Health confirms that on August 15 he sent letters to 19 of the 93 centers for general clinical research informing them that they may

have to be phased out next year because of a shortage of federal funds.

Sept. 9—The Department of Transportation reveals that it has cancelled further rail shipments of lethal phosgene gas from the Rocky Mountain Arsenal; public outcry is cited as the reason for the cancellation.

Sept. 10—At a news conference, Gov. Claude R. Kirk of Florida, Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel and John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, support the Everglades National Park. Their position seems to rule out the possibility that a huge jetport will be built there shortly.

Sept. 11—The General Accounting Office reports that the Agriculture Department has been lax in enforcing regulations pertaining to sanitation and water content in poultry. Violations are reported to have existed for periods of 6 months to over 5 years.

The Justice Department and the major automobile manufacturers agree to the settlement of a suit that had accused the manufacturers of conspiring to retard the development of antismog devices for cars. The manufacturers agree that they will make royalty-free patent licenses for such devices available to all companies that wish to install them.

President Richard Nixon says that he intends to nominate Secor D. Browne as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board; Browne is a former associate professor of aeronautics at M.I.T.

The Justice Department, in a letter to the House of Representatives, requests the permission of the House to turn over to the Internal Revenue Service certain financial records involving Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.).

Sept. 12—Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, indicates that cuts in grants for medical research may be kept to 10 per cent rather than the 20 per cent that had been announced earlier this month. The closing of 19 medical research centers will probably still be necessary.

*The New York Times* reports that the

Food and Drug Administration has been banning large amounts of imported cheeses from the country because of contamination by pesticides.

A study of the need for aircraft carriers in the nation's defense system by the two Congressional Armed Services Committees is authorized by the Senate. Originally, Senate military critics had proposed the deletion of \$377 million for a third nuclear aircraft carrier from the military authorization bill, pending a study to be conducted by the Controller General.

The Civil Aeronautics Board approves fare increases, effective October 1, for domestic flights. The cost of the average airline ticket on these flights will be increased by 6.35 per cent.

The Senate confirms the following ambassadorial nominations: Charles W. Adair, Jr., Uruguay; Douglas MacArthur 2d, Iran; Robinson McIlvaine, Kenya; Robert M. Sayre, Panama; Charles T. Cross, Singapore; and Jack W. Lydman, Malaysia. In addition, the following are confirmed as representatives to the United Nations General Assembly: Charles W. Yost; William B. Buffum; Representative Dante B. Fascell (D., Fla.); Representative J. Irving Whalley (R., Pa.); and Mrs. Shirley Temple Black.

Sept. 15—Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert H. Finch announce plans to transfer the administration of the food stamp program from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. They declare that the food stamp program will remain in effect for the indefinite future.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell presents the administration's proposals for narcotics legislation to Congress; the proposals include a ban on the manufacture, distribution and sale of drugs that have no recognized medical use; differentiation between criminal elements distributing dangerous drugs, drug addicts and experimenting young people. The proposals

also include the legalizing of "no knock" drug raids.

Restrictions on travel to Communist China, North Korea and Cuba by United States citizens are extended by Secretary of State Rogers for another six months.

Ronald L. Ziegler, White House press secretary, discloses that President Nixon believes that the U.S. should land men on Mars, but that such a program should be pursued at a moderate rate of speed.

Sept. 16—President Nixon announces his intention to nominate Dean Burch as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and Robert Wells as a member of that body.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney, in a letter to all Senate and House members, says that new procedures aimed at eliminating red tape in providing federal flood insurance for communities are being instituted.

Colonel Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr., Neil A. Armstrong and Colonel Michael Collins, the U.S. astronauts who journeyed to the moon in July, address a joint session of Congress.

The President signs a bill increasing the salaries of the Vice President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to \$62,500 per year; the annual salaries of Democratic and Republican leaders of the House and Senate and of the Senate's President Pro Tem are increased to \$49,500.

Sept. 17—The Senate confirms the following presidential nominations: George S. Ives as a member of the National Mediation Board; Neil P. Speirs as a member of the Railroad Retirement Board; Richard H. B. Wade as an assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The following ambassadorial appointments are also confirmed: Vincent de Roulet to Jamaica; John P. Walsh to Kuwait; William C. Truehart to Nigeria; Joseph S. Farland to Pakistan; and William E. Schaefe, Jr., to Upper Volta.

Ralph T. Smith is appointed by Governor Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois to fill



the Senate seat of the late Everett Dirksen.

The chairmanship of the Federal Trade Commission is offered by President Nixon to the finance director of California, Caspar W. Weinberger. A special commission of the American Bar Association, created at the request of President Nixon, has recommended the dissolution of the F.T.C. if it is not provided with new leadership and a rededication to enforcing antitrust and consumer protection laws.

Sept. 18—The House approves a constitutional amendment abolishing the Electoral College and providing for the direct election of the President; the amendment must also be passed by the Senate and the legislatures of three-fourths of the states.

*The New York Times* says that President Nixon is about to name a Presidential Commission to study the extent of the burden placed on business by the federal tax structure and to suggest ways of alleviating that burden. John H. Alexander is to be chairman of the commission.

President Nixon nominates Eugene A. Gullledge as Federal Housing Commissioner and Assistant Secretary for Mortgage Credit in the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Sept. 19—President Nixon announces a 50,000-man reduction in the planned draft calls for the balance of 1969. He announces that if Congress does not act soon to reform existing draft laws, he will effect changes by executive order.

The Department of Agriculture announces a limitation on the fat content of meat sold as frankfurters to 30 per cent.

The Senate confirms the nomination of A. Sydney Herlong as a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Sept. 20—A spokesman for the Department of the Interior announces it has bought a 584-acre tract of land on the Maryland coast to be added to the Assateague Island National Seashore.

Sept. 22—The President announces the creation of the Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission which will consist of members representing labor,

management and the public. The commission will be charged with finding new ways to settle labor disputes within the industry and with seeking solutions to the problems created by the changing needs of the industry.

Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., the United States Commissioner of Education, announces a goal for the end of the 1970's: everyone in the U.S. should be able to read properly.

Sept. 23—The President indicates support for the development of the supersonic transport. The budget request for the development of the 280-passenger jet will be \$96 million for the current fiscal year.

Sept. 24—The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence says that violence on television encourages violence in real life.

Sept. 25—The President asks Congress to increase Social Security payments by 10 per cent effective March 1, 1970, and to provide for automatic future increases geared to the cost of living.

Sept. 29—Six Congressmen, appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, seek to delay a scheduled underground nuclear test in the Aleutian Islands. They fear that the test, scheduled for later in the week, may trigger earthquakes.

## Labor

Sept. 19—The U.S. Labor Department puts into effect in New York, New Jersey, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands restrictions on the importation of domestic live-in help. In general, the importation of such help is limited to households with working mothers with preschool children. Such restrictions have been in effect in the rest of the country since July 9, 1969.

Sept. 22—5,100 United Auto Workers strike against a Chrysler Corporation plant in Illinois.

A Labor Department official announces a \$300,000 contract with a private national contractors organization for a new federal employment program. The goal of the program, known as JOBS, a joint effort of

the Labor Department and the National Alliance of Businessmen, is to provide jobs for 614,000 disadvantaged, jobless persons by June, 1971.

Sept. 24—The National Mediation Board notifies President Nixon that a national emergency exists and thus enables him to take action to prevent a strike against 7 railroads scheduled for October 4.

## Military

Sept. 3—General Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., the Marine Corps commandant, issues orders calling for the elimination of racial discrimination and violence in the Corps.

Sept. 15—The Department of Defense issues a directive to the armed forces under which protest will be permitted within the ranks if it does not interfere with military effectiveness, morale or discipline.

Sept. 16—The President announces the withdrawal of about 35,000 additional men from Vietnam by December 15, 1969.

Sept. 22—The Defense Department announces a reduction of 50,000 men from the Air Force and 20,300 men from the Marine Corps by the end of fiscal 1970; 22 Navy ships and 209 Air Force planes will be deactivated.

Sept. 26—The Defense Department announces that F-111 jets will be sent to a new base in Britain next spring.

Sept. 29—The Army drops charges against six Special Forces soldiers who had been arrested in July in connection with the alleged murder of a Vietnamese; the case is dropped because Central Intelligence Agency personnel would not be permitted to testify. (See *Current History*, October, 1969, *U.S. Military*, p. 255.)

## Northwest Passage

Sept. 14—The S.S. *Manhattan* becomes the first commercial ship to navigate the 1,100-mile Northwest Passage to Alaska. The ship is under charter to the Humble Oil and Refining Company. The successful voyage proves the feasibility of transporting oil by water from Alaska to the East coast. (See also *U.S., Economy*.)

## Politics

Sept. 24—Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania is elected Senate minority leader to succeed the late Everett McKinley Dirksen; the Republican senators elect Robert P. Griffin of Michigan as whip to replace Scott.

Sept. 30—A White House statement reports that President Nixon has reversed his previous stand and now supports the direct vote for the presidency. His changed stand is attributed by the statement to "the overwhelming approval of the direct plan by the House earlier this month."

In a special election to fill a vacant seat, the 6th Congressional District of Massachusetts elects an anti-Vietnam War Democrat, Michael J. Harrington, who defeats a Nixon Republican, William L. Saltonstall.

Mayor Carl B. Stokes wins the Democratic primary for renomination in Cleveland with 52 per cent of the vote.

## Science and Space

Sept. 10—A 40-kiloton nuclear device is exploded underground in Colorado in a joint effort by the Austral Oil Company and the Atomic Energy Commission; the purpose of the blast is to free large amounts of natural gas trapped in the shale in the area.

## VIETNAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (North)

(See also *Intl, War in Vietnam*)

Sept. 3—President Ho Chi Minh dies following a heart attack.

## VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF (South)

(See also *Intl, War in Vietnam*)

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